The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1892.

The Week.

MR. BLAINE'S letter seemed carefully planned to put an extinguisher on the President's, and certainly it had the effect of doing so. In the first place, it is a document which can be read between the rising of the sun and the going down thereof, and, moreover, has considerable advantages in point of style over Mr. Harrison's extraordinary combination of a stump speech, a statistical report, a selection of clippings from a press-bureau, and a jumble of familiar editorials and "scare" articles taken from loyal Republican papers. Nor are Mr. Blaine's omissions unintentional. He expressly says that he "would not multiply issues," and so he sets aside deliberately a good part of the campaign material of the Republicans. First among the omissions is that of the names of the party candidates. This is doubtless accounted for in the "reasons which I have explained" to Chairman Manley. They were also explained to the country when Mr. Blaine threw his resignation of the State Department in the President's face, and thereby proclaimed his opinion that it was neither wise nor safe for the party to renominate Mr. Harrison. Next we observe a failure to refer at all to our glorious foreign policy, and a disposition to leave President Harrison to the exclusive enjoyment of the ex-Blaine Irishman whom he ostentatiously shouldered and attempted to make an issue in our politics. In like manner the Force Bill is put aside as one of those subjects to which Republicans ought not to allow themselves to be "diverted by our opponents." Steamship subsidies and poor, persecuted tin plate are also given the go-by.

Of the McKinley Bill Mr. Blaine says that, "for a time," it "failed to meet with popular approval," and even that "it was regarded with a certain degree of distrust by those who had always upheld the protective system." He has private information, however, that "a powerful reaction" has now set in. Mr. Blaine is naturally strong on the subject of reciprocity. He is rather hard on his own party, though, for having "refused to accept" the beneficent principle for so long a time, and compliments the Democrats for their "most generous appreciation of the question." This is only historical justice. On September 9, 1890, Senator Gray of Delaware moved a reciprocity amendment in nearly the precise words which Mr. Blaine had employed in submitting his original proposals to the Senate. Every Democratic Senator present voted for this amendment, and every Republican Senator present voted against it. This was a genuine measure of reciprocity, and the Republicans would not have it. It can scarcely be very soothing to them at present to be reminded of that fact by Mr. Blaine.

Both President Harrison and Mr. Blaine fall foul of the brief resolution in the National Democratic platform in favor of a repeal of the 10 per cent. tax on State bank notes. The former, having some hazy conception that the national bank system is coming to an end through natural causes, and that something ought to be done about it some time, says: "Changes may become necessary, but a national system of currency safe and acceptable throughout the whole country is the good fruit of bitter experience, and I am sure our people will not consent to the reactionary proposal made by the Democratic party." Mr. Blaine, with his usual recklessness and his real ignorance of finance, assumes that the national system is a permanent system, and that the people have merely to choose between that and the State system which existed before the war. Any other or better State system born of experience, intelligence, and accumulated capital is equally ignored by both, and it is quite likely that neither of them considers any other than the wild-cat State banks possible, although the old State Bank of Indiana, with its numerous branches, was as sound as the Bank of England, and, when compelled to wind up its affairs, paid every depositor, note-holder, and shareholder in full. There have been many national banks with a worse record. In truth, the bad banks of the ante-war period, taking the country altogether, were the exception and not the rule; but, of course, the bad ones had the most notoriety, just as one case of cholera now has more notoriety than a hundred cases of sound health.

The September election in Maine is always watched with interest throughout the nation. The campaign this year has turned to some extent on State issues, especially the question of the prohibitory law, as the Democrats have come out strongly in favor of resubmitting the constitutional amendment, and, in case of its rejection, substituting a license law. The rising tide of public sentiment throughout the country against the policy of prohibition is felt also in Maine, although it is not likely that the reaction is as yet strong enough to effect a change in the Constitution. But if State issues have been more prominent in Maine than in Vermont, the Republicans have done all in their power to make the election a test of popular feeling regarding national affairs. Boutelle's Bangor *Whig and Courier*, for example, closed its last appeal to the faithful with these words:

> "All eyes are upon Maine, and she should be true to her past record of devotion to the great principles of good government. A Democratic vote is a vote in the interest of free trade and free silver; a vote for the Republican ticket is a vote for protection and honest money."

As we go to press, the returns of Monday's election are still incomplete, but indicate that the gain of the Democrats has been four times that of the Republicans as compared with their respective votes in 1890, when the total of course fell far short of the Presidential year. The same percentages applied to the remaining towns allow a Republican plurality of barely 12,000. The significance of this can be fully understood only by comparison with the record of similar September elections in Presidential years. We append a table giving these figures for each such election during the past twenty years, except 1880, when there was a fusion of Democrats and Greenbackers which elected a former Republican to the Governorship:

	Rep. vote.	Dem. vote.	Rep. plurality.
1872	71,917	54,701	17,216
1876	75,867	60,423	15,444
1884	78,912	59,061	19,851
1888	79,398	61,350	18,048
1892	68,000	56,000	12,000

It will be seen that the Democrats have this year polled within 5,000 of their full vote, while the Republican vote is more than 10,000 short of what was cast in the corresponding elections of each of the last two Presidential years. As a consequence, the Republican plurality will be unprecedentedly small—only about 12,000, against 18,000 in 1888 and nearly 20,000 in 1884. Compared with 1888, the Democratic vote now is within 9 per cent. of what was then cast, while the Republican vote has fallen off 15 per cent., or nearly twice as much. Of course, if the Democrats poll anything like their vote of 1888 throughout the United States, while the Republicans lose 15 to 20 per cent., as in Vermont and Maine, Cleveland will sweep the country.

A noticeable effect of the Vermont election has been the sudden discovery by the Republicans that, as their chief organ hastened to announce, "Reciprocity is a Great Issue." Unlimited high tariff and escape from foreign competition were dinned into the ears of the Vermont farmers, but their stolidity under the treatment, and their obstinate demonstration that they do not like the McKinley Bill any better now than two years ago, have forced the Republican managers to cast about for a more alluring battle-cry. Unfortunately, they have as their candidate a man who is not heartily in favor of reciprocity, and who no-

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where in his letter of acceptance showed more clearly his pettifogging training and habit than in his references to the effects on our trade of the reciprocity arrangements. It is a pity that he had not seen a letter written to the *Commercial Bulletin* of September 2 by a merchant engaged in the South American trade, in which is the most complete exposure of the real workings of reciprocity. This writer shows that while there has been, in the past five months, a gain of 32 per cent. in our exports to the Spanish-American countries with which we have treaties (almost all of it being due to Cuba), there has been an increase of over 11 per cent. in our exports to the other countries in the same part of the world, and, on the other hand, a decrease of 43 per cent. in the case of those countries — Hayti, Colombia, and Venezuela — where "reciprocity" has taken on its real form of retaliation.

It is already apparent that the Republican platform did not go far enough in its efforts to identify protection with the interests of the workingmen alone. Its sole demand was for "duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home." On the question of immigration it simply called for "more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration." But this bid for the labor vote has been found to be absurdly low, and accordingly it is being raised from time to time as the canvass progresses. In the platform of the Connecticut Republicans, adopted on Wednesday week, we read, for example:

> "We believe that the interests of the laboring men of this country demand that the tariff upon the productions of cheap foreign labor should be supplemented by the stringent prohibition of the importation of foreign paupers, criminals, and contract laborers; and that, if necessary, existing laws regulating immigration should be so amended as to further protect the American wage-earner against degrading competition *with imported cheap labor as well as the imported products of such labor.*"

This is a practical admission that the tariff of itself does not protect the workingman, and shows that the party of protection has been forced at last to abandon the position of which the late Congressman W. D. Kelley used to boast, that the only kind of free trade the Republicans wanted was free trade in labor.

Senator Sherman has written a letter, designed ostensibly to contradict a report that he was hostile to a protective tariff, which contains this decidedly lukewarm praise of the McKinley Law:

> "I have believed that as to certain items in different tariffs we have gone beyond the line of protection which is necessary to foster American industries. A few rates have been adopted that I think will exclude competition between foreign and American productions, and secure a monopoly to the American manufacturers. This I do not believe to be a wise policy. *There are some details of the McKinley Tariff Bill that may be subject to this objection,* but, on the whole, it is the fairest and best tariff, not only for revenue, but for protection, that has had a place on our statute-book."

There is very little sympathy for latter-day protection in that passage, for the main object of that system is to secure a monopoly of the market to the American manufacturers. "American markets for American goods" is one of the party slogans of the campaign, yet Mr. Sherman says he does not think that kind of policy is a wise one.

We shall see in the result of the election in the Fourteenth Ohio Congressional District how much appreciation the ex-soldier of Ohio has for services rendered him. This is the new district in which Mr. Michael D. Harter is a candidate for re-election, and he has against him the formidable majority of 1,692 votes. No man in Congress did more to defeat free coinage than he, and it is clearly within bounds to say that, if he had not been there, it would have passed the House, for our readers and the ex-soldiers of the country remember how very near it came to passing as it was, and the entire nation recognizes the great efforts, indeed the enormous amount of work, Mr. Harter did in compassing its defeat. In this fight he served the pensioners in a way they can hardly forget. Contrary to expectation, the Senate passed the free-silver bill, and when it went back to the House it was defeated signally. The country and the soldier may never know fully how much they owe to Congressman Harter. Mr. Harter's work in Congress last winter has saved the pensioners of his district alone $155,000 a year. There are enough Republican ex-soldiers in the district to turn the majority in his favor, and there are very many people in the district who say that the soldier vote will send him back to Washington triumphant.

Gov. Russell of Massachusetts has propounded a dilemma to protectionists of the McKinley type which it is safe to say they will let severely alone. If, when a duty is laid by the United States upon an imported article, that duty is paid by the foreigner, it follows that a "drawback" of 99 per cent. of the duty when the article is exported is a gratuity to the American exporter. To take the case of tin plate: it is now claimed by the protectionists that the Welsh manufacturers are selling it in this country at about the same price as before the McKinley tariff was adopted, and that the duty is therefore paid by them. But the Standard Oil Company, it is said, has received from our Government $1,500,000 as a drawback upon the tin cans in which their product is exported. If the foreigner paid the duty on the tin plate, the Standard Oil Company did not pay it. It is therefore a falsehood that the duty is paid by the foreigner, or else the Republican party is paying an enormous subsidy to a very great monopoly. It is also well to consider that if the foreigner does not pay the duty, the American people are taxed in order that the Standard Oil Company may sell oil cheaper to the inhabitants of foreign countries than to their fellow-citizens. How can the American tin-plate industry flourish under this competition? Unless our tin-plate-makers will sell their wares to the great exporters of canned goods at the cost of the Welsh tin plate without duty, these exporters will not buy of them. They will point out that if they buy the Welsh tin plate, they get back more than two cents a pound when they sell it again, while if they bought the American tin plate, they could not afford to pay so much for it by two cents a pound, because when they sell it they get no drawback. So far as the immense export trade in canned goods is concerned, the duty upon tin plate has no protective character. The operation of the drawback system deserves examination at the hands of the Democratic campaign orators.

The question has been raised at Washington, Who are to be considered immigrants under the recent Treasury circular? It must have been known at the time when the circular was issued that it contained no definition of the word "immigrants" which could serve as a guide for steamship companies. There is a difference between tourists and immigrants, yet if an immigrant calls himself a tourist, how is his own statement to be rebutted? The steamship companies generally considered the term to apply to steerage passengers, and stopped taking people in the steerage. Now the report comes that persons who are probably immigrants are taking passage in the second cabin, and the Treasury Department is stirred up on that account. This dilemma shows the importance of issuing an order in the right terms at the beginning—if there are any right terms for an unlawful act. It has been pointed out that the utmost authority granted by law is to exclude immigrants from infected ports. Public opinion, no doubt, sustains the order at the present time, but that circumstance does not give it additional validity, nor does it help to supply definitions for the word immigrant. Some idea of the difficulty surrounding this matter may be inferred from the fact that on the last trip of one of the White Star steamers a steerage passenger, when he came aboard, deposited $12,000 in money with the purser for safe keeping. If this man was an immigrant, he might easily have come in the first cabin. Moreover, it is not our policy as yet to exclude one who brings $12,000 into the country.

The steps taken to keep the cholera out of New York have thus far been very effective, but they ought not to be exclusive. The policy adopted in the first instance was that of keeping all the passengers continuously on board the infected

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ships, so that they were liable to become infected and die consecutively, their liability to contract the disease becoming greater with every day's detention, as they became more alarmed, and therefore weaker, by the contemplation of the scenes around them. This notable policy was in full course of execution until two private citizens came forward and offered the means to remove the passengers to a place of safety—Mr. Morgan buying a steamer outright for the purpose, and Mr. Corbin offering to make the old Sandy Hook railway station habitable at his own expense. Public opinion meanwhile had begun to weigh with some severity on the public authorities, and they made haste to accept these offers. Nothing more humbling to our civic pride can be imagined. If 1,500 men were imprisoned in a mine by an explosion of fire-damp, but were known to be alive, what efforts would be spared for their rescue? Even though they were all foreigners—Hungarians, Russian Jews, Armenians, or Chinese—every resource that wealth and skill could supply would be actively and incessantly employed for their release. Yet these 1,500, mostly our own neighbors and friends, have been fastened in close proximity to a plague and deliberately imprisoned there. And this has been done by authorities specially appointed and commissioned to look after the public health. Granted that the facilities were not at hand to dispose of these passengers in a place of safety, whose fault is it? We had had warning enough. We knew what was coming, or what we might expect at any moment. Yet no preparation whatever had been made to dispose of healthy passengers arriving on ships where there might be one person sick, or where there might have been one or more deaths on the passage.

The people of New York have in fact during the week had before their eyes a leaf out of the history of the middle ages. They read, among much other material of the same sort, that about 500 perfectly healthy persons, their own neighbors and blood relatives, who had been kept pent up for a week or more in close proximity to the cholera for the purpose of experiment—to see whether they would catch it or not—had at last been transferred to a non-cholera steamer for conveyance to an island nine miles distant from the towns of Babylon, Bay Shore, and Islip, and separated from them by a sheet of salt water which cannot be crossed by the customary means of conveyance in less time than an hour; that when the news of this intended transfer reached the inhabitants of these towns, they rose in fury and declared that no such transfer should be made, and that they would prevent it by force if necessary; that this determination was not confined to ignorant people, but was in fact started by the leading citizens and by the local Board of Health; that while no difficulty was experienced in finding cooks, waiters, stewards, chambermaids, sailors, carpenters, etc., who were willing to be brought into personal contact with the passengers, yet the Babylonians—we use this generic name for all of them—did everything in their power to drive them back to the place from which they had been with the greatest difficulty removed, and finally got an injunction issued by a judge against their landing; while on Monday night an angry mob of baymen forcibly resisted the landing, denying it even to the women and children, in spite of the most moving appeals.

Bear in mind that none of these people had been sick. They had been kept alongside the cholera for eight days, or for fourteen if we count the ocean voyage, yet none of them had contracted the disease. Therefore, according to the five-day-quarantine rule adopted in the beginning, these passengers were entitled to be landed. But the Quarantine Officer had meanwhile been upset by the twenty-day circular from Washington. This circular, prescribing twenty days "or more," has been adopted as a minimum, and now the question became not whether the passengers would catch the cholera in the course of time, but how long they could survive the other horrors of their detention. Another word is due to the Babylonians. The Surf Hotel at Fire Island is, as we have said, nine miles from the mainland. The *Normannia* and all the other so-called "pest-ships" have been nearer to the city of New York, all the time, than these *uninfected* passengers would be to Babylon and Islip if they were at the Surf Hotel. It is needless to say that the teeming population of Staten Island have been within a much shorter distance of these ships, and are at a much less distance all the time from the real pest-house on Hoffman Island; and yet they go about their business in a decent and orderly way. The Babylonians are not different from other people at heart, but they appear to have lost their heads altogether.

The public mind was so much engrossed last week with the cholera excitement that a most significant and encouraging development regarding the question of opening the World's Fair on Sunday failed to receive due attention. This was the action of the New York State Board of Woman Managers, which adopted, with but a single dissenting vote among the fifteen present, the following resolution, presented by Mrs. Frederick P. Bellamy:

"Resolved, That the New York State Board of Woman Managers request that the Columbian Exposition be opened on Sunday for the benefit of all classes."

Inasmuch as the efforts of bigoted Sabbatarians to keep the Exposition closed on Sunday have received so much support from women who never stopped to inform themselves as to the merits of the case, it is most gratifying to find a body of representative women like this Board speaking so emphatically and unitedly on the common-sense side of the question.

An interesting comparison is drawn by the *Financial Chronicle* between the iron industry in Great Britain and that in the United States. For several years this country has produced more iron than any other, but in the first six months of 1892 it is computed that our consumption amounted to 5,200,000 tons, while the amount both consumed and exported by Great Britain was 1,400,000 less than this. The comparison requires to be modified in view of the great strike of the Durham miners, which probably accounts for the decrease from last year of a million tons in the British production. Still, if we examine the production for the last four years, it appears that the United States show a larger gain than Great Britain, and it is scarcely probable that our country will hereafter be second in this race. It is to be remembered, however, that for some years Great Britain has ceased lending to South America and Australia, and that these loans to a large extent took the form of iron.

It is too soon to know what additions to our knowledge are to be made through the success of Lieut. Peary's Greenland expedition, but it is gratifying to learn that expeditions of this character can be carried through as they are planned. With very moderate financial support, the exploring party seems to have accomplished practically all that it had laid out for itself, with no loss of life except through an accident of the character to which all Alpine climbers are exposed. The sledge journey of 1,300 miles made by two men and occupying three months is certainly one of the most remarkable feats of this description that have ever been accomplished, and suggests the possibility of extending Arctic discovery much further than had come to be considered practicable.

The working of republican institutions in Brazil had a characteristic manifestation in the recent election of a Congressman from the Federal District including the city of Rio de Janeiro. The official lists showed qualified voters to the number of 29,971, but the total vote cast was considerably under 2,000. Nor was this the result of an uncontested election in which there was no interest. The contest between the two leading candidates was spirited, and they came out within a hundred votes of each other. The capital city, moreover, is probably the place in the whole country where there is most intelligence among the voters and the greatest interest in politics. It may be imagined what the farcical character of popular elections is in the remoter and more ignorant regions.

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THE VERMONT ELECTION.

VERMONT is a small State, and her inhabitants have the reputation of being very set in their opinions. Most people would probably say, at first thought, that there is hardly a commonwealth in the whole Union which was less likely to feel the first slow movements in the rising tide of public sentiment, and thus to give early indications of the way that an irresistible current was sweeping the country. Yet it is a fact, which a little study of the '*Tribune* Almanac' will establish, that for a quarter of a century the gubernatorial election of Vermont in the September of a Presidential year has foreshadowed the result of the national contest in the ensuing November; a large Republican majority for Governor being followed by a Republican victory, and a small Republican majority by a Democratic success. In September, 1872, the Vermont State election gave the Republican candidate 41,946 votes, and the Democratic 16,613—a Republican plurality of 25,333; and two months later Grant beat Greeley "out of sight." On the other hand, in 1876 the totals of the two parties were 44,723 and 20,988—a Republican plurality of only 23,735; and Tilden carried all of the doubtful States. In 1880 the Republican majority in Vermont's September election leaped up again, the two parties polling respectively 47,848 and 21,245 votes—a Republican plurality of 26,603; and Garfield carried the country. In 1884 the Republicans of Vermont showed the first effect of Blaine's nomination by giving their candidate for Governor only 42,524 votes, against 19,820 for the Democratic—a Republican plurality of but 22,704; and Cleveland was elected. In 1888, however, the pendulum swung far over to the other side, the Republicans casting the largest vote on record, 48,522, against 19,527 for the Democrats, which gave the Republicans the unprecedented plurality of 28,995; and Harrison was elected.

The State election of 1892 in Vermont was held on September 6. There was a special reason why the commonwealth should this year give a great Republican majority, for President Harrison has paid it the great compliment of giving it a place in the Cabinet in the person of ex-Gov. Proctor, whom he made Secretary of War. Mr. Proctor, who was elected Senator last year to succeed Mr. Edmunds, fully appreciated the importance and significance of the contest. In a speech delivered to his old neighbors in Rutland last month, he thus "laid down the law," and every good Republican organ has printed his words in large type ever since:

> "I wish to impress upon you the importance of the coming September election. It is not a State matter, but a national one. The vote cast for the State ticket next month is really your vote for President and the expression of your choice between the principles of the two great parties. The main question cannot be covered up by any State issues. If the Republican party maintains its average majority, it will be hailed as a Republican victory. If the Democrats reduce that majority, it will be heralded far and wide as an omen of Democratic success in the nation. You are individually responsible for a full vote for Fuller and Stranahan, and I believe you will do your duty and see to it that Vermont rolls up a handsome majority in September that will presage the election of Harrison and Reid in November."

The returns from the election are already sufficiently complete to show the result with perfect clearness. So far from there being "a handsome majority," or even the "average majority," for the Republican party, the majority is by far the smallest recorded in the September of a Presidential year during the past quarter of a century. The comparison with corresponding elections in the Septembers of previous Presidential years is as follows:

	Republican vote.	Democratic vote.	Rep. plurality.
1872.....	41,946	16,613	25,333
1876.....	44,723	20,988	23,735
1880.....	47,848	21,245	26,603
1884.....	42,524	19,820	22,704
1888.....	48,522	19,527	28,995
1892.....	39,000	19,000	20,000

These being the undisputed facts regarding the election, how do the Republican organs treat this unprecedented falling-off in their party's majority? The Philadelphia *Press* explains that there was "much indifference" among Republicans. But why indifference? If there is one State in the Union where Republicans should not be indifferent when asked to express their opinion on McKinleyism, it is Vermont, for the Boston *Journal*, the leading Republican organ of New England, declared a few days ago that "no State has profited more by the McKinley Tariff Law than Vermont. Its granite, its marble, its maple forests, and its farms alike have felt the stimulating influences." The New York *Tribune* says that "in 1888 the national campaign began early, and the wool issue was regarded as of momentous importance by the voters of Vermont." But is not the wool issue of even more importance in 1892, when a Democratic House has recently passed a free-wool bill? The Philadelphia *Press* says that there was a "failure to make an energetic campaign" on the part of the Republicans. But the Boston *Journal*, which is much better informed as to New England affairs, said in its editorial columns on September 1:

> "The immense crowd which turned out at Burlington Tuesday to listen to Gov. McKinley speaks well for the interest of Vermont Republicans in the present campaign. It is especially encouraging, as it does not appear that it is any isolated manifestation of enthusiasm. Other meetings, if not as large, certainly as earnest, have been held in various parts of the State. Nearly one hundred clubs have been organized by the Republican League in as many towns, and everything points to a vigorous attention to the election."

So the *Vermont Journal* said of McKinley's stumping tour: "Everywhere in the State he has been received with the greatest enthusiasm, listened to with the deepest interest, and left an impress that will weigh heavily against free-trade apostles in the coming elections." His "rally" at Burlington was "one of the largest political gatherings ever recorded in the history of the State." How heavily he weighed in that town may be seen from the election returns: in 1888 the Republicans cast 1,401 votes, but on September 6, 1892, they could muster only 1,016, while the Democrats increased their total from 1,014 to 1,106. McKinley had another tremendous meeting at Brattleboro, and weighed heavily on the wrong side again, depressing the Republican vote from 1,002 to 862. All this reveals not merely Republican apathy, but positive ingratitude, for McKinley told the Vermonters plainly: "There is not one of you who has not been blessed by this law [the tariff], and you know it."

The hollowness of much of the Republican talk about "a free ballot" is shown by the movement already reported under way in Vermont to repeal the law introducing the Australian system of voting. This system provides the best possible facilities for "a free ballot," enabling every man to vote as he chooses, without interference and even without the knowledge of any one else as to how he votes. The late election was the first ever known in Vermont in which every voter enjoyed perfect freedom of action in casting his ballot. The Democrats have always claimed that such a system would help their party, and the result justifies their confidence. No sooner is the result known than the Republicans attribute the falling-off in their majority to the Australian system, and call for its abolition. In considering this explanation it must be kept in mind that the Republicans always claim to be "the party of intelligence," and deride the Democrats as an ignorant set, so that, if a new system of voting makes it hard for ignorant men to vote, it should be the Democratic party which would suffer. If it is really true that 9,000 Republicans in Vermont out of 48,522 voting in 1888 are so ignorant that they remained away from the polls rather than display their ignorance, the prospect for the party is certainly a dreary one in States like Indiana, which have hundreds of thousands of Republicans, and which will vote under the Australian system this year for the first time in a Presidential election.

THE FUTURE OF SILVER.

PARADOXES never cease. At the moment when the price of silver is the lowest ever recorded, when our Government purchases threaten to swamp the national finances, when the International Conference is confronted with the question whether there is any way whatever of preventing silver from slipping into the same place as copper and nickel in the money of civilized nations, Dr. Suess comes bravely forward and writes a book that should cheer the

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hearts of our despondent silver friends. Silver, not gold, says he, is the money of the future.

'Die Zukunft des Silbers,' just published by this scholarly writer, tells the world that the supply of gold is limited, and that its production must tend to decline; the consumption in the arts and for industrial uses must steadily rise; sooner or later, therefore, the amount of gold available for monetary uses will prove insufficient to supply the growing demand of civilized countries, and gold must cease to be the basis of their money systems. On the other hand, silver is not in so perilous a condition as the faint-hearted may think. True, its production has increased enormously of late; but the sources from which the great quantities have come in the United States and recently in Australia are not of a permanent sort. The geological and metallurgical conditions are such that these great finds give out after a few years of working, and there must before long be an end to the discovery of new ones. On the other hand, the old mines of South America promise a moderate but steady and permanent flow of silver, such as will supply the monetary systems of the world without gorging them. Eventually, therefore, we shall be forced to discard gold and adopt silver as the monetary metal. The events of the last fifteen or twenty years represent only an eddy in the great current that must in the end bring the world to a silver basis. Even international bimetallism could ward off the result only for a while. Our author agrees with those who regard international bimetallism, supposing it to be practicable, as only a temporary device. But he says it is a device not for saving silver for a couple of decades from the inevitable collapse, but for saving gold for a time from its inevitable expulsion from monetary use. Meanwhile, so long as the present anomalous state of things lasts, the gold-using countries suffer and writhe, and the silver countries prosper and rejoice.

All this has a familiar ring, and, summarized thus baldly, might come from some of our blatant silver organs. We must do Dr. Suess the justice of saying that he is a scholar of standing, writes simply and calmly, and spares us all claptrap. More than this, as a geologist he writes with some authority. His book is mainly on the geological and mineralogical conditions of the precious metals; and if conditions of this sort were decisive in determining the monetary future of silver and gold, he might be right. Doubtless it is true that for the future the supply of gold from the mines, available for monetary uses, will not grow rapidly, and may actually decline; and that the increase in the production and supply of silver is not likely to be long maintained at its present high rate. Doubtless, also, if metallic coin alone served the purposes of money in civilized countries, the needs of growing numbers and wealth could not be conveniently supplied from gold alone, and silver must be resorted to in order to prevent a heavy and probably distressing fall in prices.

The simple and obvious fact, however, is that metallic money plays a less and less important part in the machinery of exchange in advanced countries, and that therefore the conditions which determine the supply of the precious metals are becoming factors of less and less economic importance. All the various forms of credit —Government notes, bank notes, checks, and bank deposits — supplant metallic money for all large transactions in growing proportions, and cause gold to be used mainly as a basis on which credit rests, and as a medium for effecting that small remnant of transactions which must be settled by the transfer of actual coin. It may be argued that even for purposes of this sort the supply of gold ought to increase as the transactions that rest on it grow. True, perhaps, if the machinery of credit remained always the same. But that machinery develops and becomes more efficient, and tends steadily to diminish the proportion of coin that is called for. There is no indication that in the recent past the quantity of gold has been inadequate to supply all needs without embarrassment, or that in the visible future it will be so. On the other hand, silver is being relegated to a use substantially as a subsidiary coin, performing the services for moderate transactions which copper and nickel perform for small transactions. Possibly, silver is not the best ideal medium for such purposes; but it is here, and the financial difficulties of making any great change will keep it here for a long time to come. At all events, for limited use as subsidiary money, it is not very material whether the price of silver be high or low. The important thing is simply that too much of it be not coined or issued. If production increases as it has done in recent years, the main consequence must be that the price will fall until the mines begin to close or some other use for the metal is found—a process which is now going on under our eyes.

So far as the distant and ultimate future is concerned—and this is what Dr. Suess really has in view in his speculations—it is idle to worry or to make predictions. The time, perhaps, will come when the industrial use of gold and the wear and tear on the monetary supply will exceed the annual production, and we shall have to deal with an actually diminishing volume of gold money. Perhaps, too, after a couple of centuries, the production of silver will have greatly diminished, and the conditions for enlarging its use as money will be favorable. But then the civilized nations by that time may have done away with war, or developed into full-fledged socialism, or adopted a tabular standard of value and dispensed with coin money altogether, or done various things which we may now regard as probable or improbable. For the present we need not borrow trouble on these topics, or on the distant future of gold and silver. We may be content with that solution of the bimetallic question to which the civilized world has been slowly but steadily moving ever since the great fall in the value of silver began twenty years ago: gold as the standard, silver to supplement it for subsidiary uses. Just now, we in the United States, under the act of 1890, are going too fast and too far in the effort to find a large use for silver. But all the signs of the times point to an early repeal or modification of our present silver legislation, and to the acceptance of the situation as France and Germany and Austria have accepted it. The world will move along well enough under such a régime for as long a time in the future as it is humanly possible to make provision for.

A NEW DEPARTURE IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

THE year which marks the fourth of our Columbian anniversaries has lately been celebrated by the town of Quincy, Mass., as closing the first century of its corporate existence. In that period its interest in the shore along which it lies, in ships and the seafaring life, had been severed by the railroad as effectively as by nature in past ages, when the elevation of the New England coast made Quincy an inland site. Its population, meanwhile, steadily increased until the simple form of government by town meeting and selectmen became unworkable, and was perforce abandoned in favor of the city form. In January, 1889, the new order went into operation.

This is not so commonplace a circumstance as would appear upon the surface. It forms the burden of an address to his fellow-citizens by Mr. Charles Francis Adams on July 4, if "burden" can be associated with this writer's nervous and entertaining style—"The Centennial Milestone." The new charter he shows to have been framed mainly by two Harvard graduates, Josiah Quincy and Sigourney Butler, young men and lawyers both, after a serious study of the defects of existing municipal governments, and consultation with the deepest thinkers on the subject. A third Harvard man, Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, whose ideas are not unknown to our readers, was a weighty adviser, and his hand will be recognized in the project which the town finally adopted. We will briefly state that the guiding principle of the Committee was to make a non-political business government, with "a responsible single executive, and a council much in the nature of a board of corporation directors." To the Mayor was given "a larger and more arbitrary power within his department than had ever in the United States been confided to the executive head of any organization classed as political." He and his cabinet of

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administrative officers appointed by himself

"are required to be present at all regular meetings of the Council, and to give such information as may be asked for as to the business of their respective offices; they are given the right to speak upon all matters relating to their offices, but without the right to vote. They are also required to place upon public record the reasons for every removal from office made by them. The Mayor may, further, be removed at any time by a vote of two-thirds of all the members of the Council."

This body consists of twenty-three members, chosen partly at large, but chiefly by districts, the original scheme having equalized the two classes. The popular amendment Mr. Adams regards as clearly unfortunate, and as perhaps the leading cause of the small satisfaction given by this branch of the Government in the three years of actual experiment. He advocates the abolition of all ward lines, and regrets that the Committee did not venture to incorporate a method of proportional representation.

Even so, however, he does not feel sure that the adoption of Quincy's new charter marks an era in American political development. The problem still remains, how to enlist the "best men" in the conduct of affairs; and he boldly comes out for compulsory municipal service, after the fashion of compulsory jury duty. He finds needful support, dear to the antiquary as well as to the political innovator, in the early annals of the town, when his own ancestor, John Adams, had either to pay a fine or accept the nomination of him made at town-meeting for surveyor of highways. Other examples in plenty are cited; some of the recalcitrant, like the future President, resigning themselves to the duty imposed upon them, while others paid the penalty prescribed. We understand that Mr. Adams has in mind popular election only, as (in Quincy) to the mayoralty, the school committee, and the council; not appointments by the Mayor or the heads of departments. Of compulsory voting, now advocated in some quarters, he takes no notice; and certainly if the choice of public officers could by habit or prescription be made to lie among the élite, the universality of the voting would be of secondary importance. But, as to the suffrage, Mr. Adams contemplates no limitation of it, and there appears to be no provision in the Quincy charter for a control of public expenditures by the taxpayers, as proposed by the Tilden Commission.

More will have been learned in ten years than in three of the success achieved by the Quincy reformers. In the meantime it is to be hoped that the outside course of political evolution will come to their aid. The breaking down of district lines in choosing State and national Representatives would make for them, and that this is possible in Massachusetts is shown by the non-resident candidacy of Dr. William Everett two years ago. Nothing, again, would do more to familiarize the voter with the business view of municipal administration than the growth of the same view with reference to the State administration. Mr. Adams insists that "the State is a political entity; the municipality, a mere business organization." This is true of the municipality, but it is not the whole truth about the State, which is also a business organization in every particular in which the town or city is. Ordinances and statutes which look to assessments, the levying and collection of taxes, the laying out of streets and railroads, to parks and reservations, the public health, the police, differ only in extent, not in kind. The initiative and supreme authority belong to the State in the passage of general laws, but it too has to "keep house." The *trust* reposed in a member of the State Legislature is precisely the same as that reposed in a selectman or an alderman, even if a higher type of intellect and training be required for a legislator's work; and it is a business trust—namely, to guard the interests of his employers, who bear the cost of government.

Now, one of the greatest evils in our Federal life is that men will persist in voting for Governors and members of the Legislature on grounds which nominally relate solely to Federal politics, whereas, in ordinary times, at least, a "Republican" or "Democratic" Governor is a pure misnomer. We cannot say the same of State Representatives or State Senators, and here the mischief lies. The Federal Constitution has committed to these men the charge of electing Senators of the United States. Hence the first consideration in their case is, not, What is their opinion about State policy? but, How will they affect the balance of power in Congress? This is an absurdity, and worse, but we must put up with it until we can amend the Constitution, unless a way can be devised to take the choice of Senators out of the hands of the Machine and give it to the people indirectly, without violating the present provision. Such a reform, relieving the would-be independent voter of any thought of national politics when voting for State officers—of "off-years" and Presidential years—would be a powerful solvent of party cohesiveness, and would permit townsmen and citizens to associate freely for State and local objects, while agreeing to differ when the national policy was at stake. For ourselves, we believe this a nearer and more practical end to strive for than compulsory municipal service. The "best men" will be found at the front just in proportion as the mass of the electors take a sound and enlightened view of the nature of all government. Raise the tone of the constituencies sufficiently high, and you will soon have the cultivated class who have turned their backs on politics, offering their services to the public. The names, even now, of Adams, and Bradford, and Everett, and Quincy, and Russell are of good omen for such a consummation; and this suggestive pamphlet, "The Centennial Milestone," just from the press, will be no mean instrument to that end wherever it is read.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE influences which determine the course of English elections are to the American eye mysterious and past finding out. Newcastle, which returns two members, gave Mr. John Morley about 11,000 votes at the general election, and when he stood again raised the number to 13,000. The Conservative candidate at the general election had headed the poll with nearly 14,000 votes, while Mr. Ralli, who opposed Mr. Morley at the second election, got little more than 11,000. At the same time the total number of votes registered at the two elections was very nearly the same. It is absurd to say that the issues between the parties had changed within a month, and the causes of this extraordinary change in the sentiment of the constituency are inscrutable. If the issue that interested the voters were home rule for Ireland, Mr. Morley's vote should have been as great in the first as in the second election, perhaps greater, for the issue of the conflict was doubtful in the first place, while victory was assured in the second. Mr. Hamond, the successful Conservative candidate, is said to have been very popular, but Mr. Ralli was not at all an unpopular candidate. Upon the eight-hour question, however, there was a marked difference in the attitude of the candidates, and we should be glad to believe that Mr. Morley's bold attitude had something to do with his success.

It is to be borne in mind by American readers that the constitutions of all our States contain guarantees for personal liberty that the much-praised British Constitution does not. No American Legislature can forbid an adult citizen from working as long as he chooses. It is competent for a legislature to forbid a corporation which it has created from employing men more than a certain number of hours in a day, although it may be doubted if this prohibition would be sustained against an attack on the part of a workman who was hindered by it in his efforts to earn a living. At all events the power of our legislatures stops short when they are confronted with the inalienable right of the individual man to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is not true in Great Britain. The Parliament of that country has complete and unquestioned power to ordain that no British subject shall perform labor for more than eight hours out of the twenty-four; and what is known as the "eight-hours movement" is the endeavor to bring about the enactment of such a law.

It was demanded of Mr. Morley that he should promise to support a law of this kind, which promise he declined to make. He admitted the power of Parliament, and expressed his sympathy with all endeavors directed to the lightening of human toil; but

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he maintained that it was uncertain that a majority of the workmen at certain trades were in favor of such a law, and that it was certain that in some trades a majority of workmen were opposed to it, and he asserted that under those circumstances the law ought not to be adopted. The argument which to an American audience would have been most effective of all—that, no matter what a majority of workmen at any trade wanted, they had no right to force those who differed with them to surrender their freedom, and that any law aiming at this result was oppressive and wicked—was not thought of either by Mr. Morley or by his "hecklers." The absence of a written bill of rights proclaiming certain immutable principles of liberty has allowed the minds of Englishmen to fall into much confusion upon these subjects, and the socialistic haze has so beclouded the vision of many of her economists that they have little idea of the perils upon which they are drifting.

On the other hand, Mr. Morley's opponent made satisfactory concessions to the eight-hour advocates. He did not see his way clear to an immediate adoption of the principle in all occupations, but he was ready to begin with some as an experiment—to give the miners an eight-hour bill if they wished it, and to extend it to trades which were harmful to health and dangerous to life. These expressions were upon the whole satisfactory to the eight-hour party, and their votes were therefore, it is to be supposed, cast against Mr. Morley. Newcastle being proverbially a mining community, it might have been expected that Mr. Morley's vote would have been smaller at the supplementary election than at the previous one. But, as we have seen, he came out nearly 2,000 votes ahead instead of over 3,000 behind. It is certainly a plausible view that the dangers of the eight-hour movement had come to be so generally understood as to lead many voters, who would have preferred to support a conservative candidate, to give their suffrages to a man who had the courage to withstand a clique of ignorant laborers.

But whatever encouragement may be derived from the result at Newcastle is dashed by the unexpected performance of the textile operatives of Lancashire. These working people have been hitherto distinguished by their opposition to the Eight-Hour Bill. They have maintained that it would be impossible for the mills of Lancashire to continue running if working hours there were limited to eight while on the Continent and elsewhere they were ten or twelve. All of a sudden they change their attitude, and now declare that it is necessary to limit production in order to get better prices for their product, and that the way to limit production is to limit working time to eight hours. The logical corollary to this would be that the supply of mills ought to be limited too, and this corollary has been added. No new mill is to be built in any place except "after a Board of Trade or a Parliamentary inquiry into the wants of the locality." It is an ominous change that has come over this important class of English workmen. They have been the mainstay of substantial industrial freedom, and if their support is to be taken away, the future of the English laborer becomes much less hopeful.

WHITTIER.

THE popular poet-laureate of this country passed away in peace on September 7, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. This longevity, and numerous and very recent biographies, have made the principal facts of his uneventful life well known to the public. Neither of the careers which he would fain have determined for himself was destined to be his. From journalism as from politics the farmer's son was turned back to that simple inspiration of poet which was confirmed in him, on discovery, by his neighbor, the editor of the Newburyport *Free Press*, afterwards the editor of the Boston *Liberator*. The friendship of these two men might have led the younger, as disciple, to become entirely absorbed in the agitation against slavery, in which he did in fact for a time do editorial service. But partly his political and partly his sectarian bias drew him away from Garrison at the time of the schism in the abolition ranks growing out of political and sectarian differences, though in after years they came together without bitterness and with their old affection. Moreover, the poet was physically unfitted

> "to ride
> The winged Hippogriff Reform."

He was all his life a victim of ill-health, having brought on neuralgia and headache by overwork in the early days of his journalism. For many years he could not write fifteen minutes at a time without a headache. A worthy grocer of Amesbury, whenever he heard this fact spoken of with compassion, used to dispute the sentiment with some vehemence; Mr. Whittier's ill-health having, as he thought, been beneficial to his fame by "preventing his engaging in any business," and thus turning him to poetry. The inference seemed to be that, with good health, Mr. Whittier too might have been a flourishing grocer, just as some of Sir Walter Scott's neighbors thought that he would have been "sae weel respeckit" had he stuck to the law and not wasted his time on poetry and novels. Be this as it may, it is certain that Mr. Whittier's delicate health was for almost all his life a drawback to continuous mental exertion, although care and watchfulness greatly benefited his general condition during his later years. This improved health, together with other causes, produced in him an increase, not a diminution, of sociability and freedom of intercourse as years went on. He became more frequently a guest at private houses, where nothing but an increase of deafness prevented him from being a most delightful companion. His shyness visibly diminished—a quality so marked in early life that it sometimes seemed a positive distress to him to be face to face with half-a-dozen people in a room.

This habit showed itself chiefly in what is called society; with men met for political or even business purposes he was more at home. He was for many years an active politician (in 1835 and 1836 he was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature), and was esteemed—though a poet—a man of excellent judgment in all public matters. He was a keen judge of character, was perfectly unselfish, and always appeared to look at affairs more with the eyes of a man of the people than with those of a student. Without making any words about it, he seemed held by early associations as well as principle to the point of view of the working class. His whole position in this respect was very characteristic of American life; had he lived in England and among the social restrictions of that more stereotyped society, he would perhaps have been simply some Corn-Law Rhymer, some Poet of the People. As it was, there was nothing to keep him from full identification with the most cultivated class, and yet he was always able to remain in full sympathy with the least cultivated. In this respect he was more typically national than our other bards. His liberal attitude was aided also by his training in the Society of Friends. Of this body Mr. Whittier was always a faithful member, though never narrow or technical in his spirit. In his youth his anti-slavery associations sometimes brought him into danger of discipline; and he used to say jokingly in his later years that the Society would gladly have then put upon him, would he but consent, all the committee work and the little dignities from which his position as a reformer had excluded him in his youth. He always held to the prescribed garb so far as the cut of his coat was concerned, but conformed to the ways of the world in his other attire. He did not use the "thee" to members of his own society alone, as is the case with some, but presented it in his intercourse with the world at large.

It is difficult to say whether in his life, as in Irving's, an early romance led the way to a career of celibacy. A few passages in his writings, but only a few, might bear this interpretation, while the view was discouraged by his nearest kindred. It is certain that in later life he sometimes permitted himself to express regret that he had never married, since all his tastes and habits were eminently domestic. He always appeared to advantage in the society of women. His manners had all the essentials of courtliness in their dignity and consideration for others, and while he had little small-talk, he had plenty to say about men and books; this being always said with sympathy and with quaint humor. Utterly free from self-esteem, he was always glad to keep the topic of conversation away from himself, and was quite disposed to rejoice in any evidences of obscurity.

He was a wide reader and had a tenacious memory; but he spoke no language except his own, nor did he—although he translated one or two simple French poems—read much in any foreign tongue. He never visited Europe. He used to say that in early life he had a great yearning for travel, but that after reading a book about any foreign place, he retained in his mind a picture so vivid that his longing for that particular place was satisfied. Yet, as Thoreau said that he had travelled a great deal—in Concord, so Whittier was familiar with New England and Pennsylvania, and has done far more than any poet (perhaps as much as all other poets together) to preserve the legends and immortalize the localities of these portions of our country. It is only necessary to look through the New England volumes of Longfellow's 'Poems of Places' to be satisfied of this. In his treatment of legends, his Quaker truthfulness comes in, and he generally produces his poetic effects while keeping close to history. But his great skill lay in discovery; everything he found was turned to account,

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and he shared with Hawthorne the honor of demonstrating that the early New England life was as rich in poetic material as the Scottish.

Of his poetry it may safely be said that it has two permanent grounds of fame: he was the Tyrtæus of the greatest moral agitation of the age, and he was the creator of the New England legend. He was also the exponent of a pure and comprehensive religious feeling; but this he shares with others, while the first two branches of laurel are unmistakably his own. His drawbacks are about as plain and unequivocal as his merits. Brought up at a period when Friends disapproved of music, he had no early training in this direction and perhaps no natural endowment. He wrote in a letter of 1882, "I don't know anything of music, not one tune from another." This at once defined the limits of his verse and restricted him to the very simplest strains. He wrote mostly in the four-line ballad metre, which he often made not only effective, but actually melodious. That he had a certain amount of natural ear is shown by his use of proper names, in which, after his early period of Indian experiments had passed, he rarely erred. In one of his very best poems, "My Playmate," a large part of the effectiveness comes from the name of the locality:

> "The dark pines sing on Ramoth hill
> The slow song of the sea."

In "Amy Wentworth," another of his best, he gives to one of his verses the unconscious flavor of a Scotch ballad by using, as simply as a nameless Scottish minstrel would have used, the names at his own door:

> "The sweetbriar blooms on Kittery-side
> And green are Elliot's bowers."

These are the very names of the villages where the scene was laid, and even the Kittery-*side* is vernacular. Whittier sometimes prolonged his narrative too much, and often obtruded his moral a little, but, so far as flavor of the soil went, he was far beyond Longfellow or Holmes or Lowell. If he lost by want of ear for music, the result was chiefly injurious in that it impaired his self-confidence; and where he had trusted his ear to admit a bolder strain, he was easily overawed by some prosaic friend with a foot-rule, who convinced him that he was taking a dangerous liberty. Thus, in "The New Wife and the Old," in describing the night-sounds, he finally closes with—

> "And the great sea waves below,
> Pulse o' the midnight, beating slow."

This "Pulse o' the midnight" was an unusual rhythmic felicity for him, but, on somebody's counting the syllables, he tamely submitted, substituting

> "Like the night's pulse, beating slow,"

which is spondaic and heavy; but he afterwards restored the better line. In the same way, when he sang of the shoemakers in the best of his "Songs of Labor," he originally wrote:

> "Thy songs, Hans Sachs, are living yet
> In strong and hearty German,
> And Canning's craft, and Gifford's wit,
> And the rare good sense of Sherman."

Under similar pressure of criticism he was induced to substitute

> "And patriot fame of Sherman";

and this time he did not repent. It is painful to think what would have become of the liquid measure of Coleridge's "Christabel" had some tiresome acquaintance, possibly "a person on business from Porlock," insisted on putting that poem also in the stocks.

Whittier's muse probably gained in all ways from the strong tonic of the anti-slavery agitation. That gave a training in directness, simplicity, genuineness; it taught him to shorten his sword and to produce strong effects by common means. It made him permanently high-minded also, and placed him, as he himself always said, above the perils and temptations of a merely literary career. Though always careful in his work, and a good critic of the work of others, he always talked by preference upon subjects not literary—politics, social science, the rights of labor. He would talk at times, if skilfully led up to it, about his poems, and was sometimes, though rarely, known to repeat them aloud; but his own personality was never a favorite theme with him, and one could easily fancy him as going to sleep, like La Fontaine, at the performance of his own opera.

Yet certainly few men of limited early training have brought from that experience so few literary defects as Whittier. He soon outgrew all flavor of provincialism, and entered into the thorough atmosphere of literature. The result is that when he uses a mispronunciation or makes a slip in grammar, it has the effect of an oversight or a whim, not of ignorance. Thus he always accents the word "romance" on the first syllable, as in

> "Young Romance raised his dreamy eyes;"

and in the poem "The Knight of St. John" has this bit of hopeless bad grammar:

> "For since the time when Warkworth wood
> Closed o'er my steed and I."

Yet these things suggest no flavor of illiteracy. A worse fault is that of occasional dilution and the reiteration of some very simple moral. D'Alembert said of Richardson's novels, once so famous, "Nature is a good thing, but do not bore us with her (*non pas jusqu'à l'ennui*)." Whittier never reaches the point of ennui, but he sometimes makes us fear that another verse will bring us to it; and yet, when he will, he can be thoroughly terse and vigorous. He is always simple—always free from that turgidness and mixture of metaphors which often mar the verse of Lowell. On the other hand, he does not so often as Lowell broaden into the strong assertion of great general principles. Lowell's "Verses Suggested by the Present Crisis" followed not long after Whittier's "Massachusetts to Virginia," and, being printed anonymously, were at first attributed to the same author. Whittier's poem had even more lyric fire and produced an immediate impression even greater, but it touched universal principles less broadly and is therefore rarely quoted, while Lowell's

> "Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne"

is immortal on the lips of successive orators.

But while this is true, it is also certain that there is room, even in the United States, for such a function as that of poet of the people; and here Whittier filled a mission apart from that of the other members of his particular group of New England bards. The difference was indeed ante-natal, and affords a most interesting study. Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell belonged more or less completely to what one of them described well enough as "Brahmin blood," representing traditions of hereditary cultivation, if not always of station or wealth. Their ancestors were to a great extent lawyers or clergymen, *gens de robe*. With the questionable exception of Father Batchelder, Whittier held a widely different ancestry. But here came in a new element of interest: he came of a race which had a culture of its own, namely, that implied in "birthright membership" of the Society of Friends. He could say for himself in good faith what Lowell said only from a dramatic attitude:

> "We draw our lineage from the oppressed."

Nor was it from the oppressed alone, but from those who had suffered in a spirit so lofty and with such elevation of purpose as to yield through transmitted spiritual influence many of the results of the finest training. No one appreciated better than he the essential dignity of the early New England aristocracy—he whose imagination could trace back his heroine's lineage through the streets of Portsmouth, N. H.:

> "Her home is brave in Jaffray Street,
> With stately stairways worn
> By feet of old Colonial knights
> And ladies gentle-born.
> . . . . . .
> "And on her, from the wainscot old,
> Ancestral faces frown—
> And this had worn the soldier's sword,
> And that the judge's gown."

But what was all this to him who had learned at his mother's knee to go in fancy with William Penn into the wilderness, or to walk with Barclay of Ury through howling mobs? There is no better Brahmin blood than the Quaker blood, after all. It was, then, as from kinsman to kinsman that Whittier's last verses were addressed to Oliver Wendell Holmes.

IN THOMAS HARDY'S COUNTRY.—II.

West Lulworth, August, 1892.

As to the possible excursions from this point as a centre, a complete list would necessitate a history of Dorsetshire; but, taking only those which may be done easily in a day, on foot, by means of a pony or donkey cart, or perhaps by going a few miles in either direction from Wool on the London and South-western Railway, it will be evident that the sight-seer who is not content with nature will find much of interest.

A road going to the east passes through the village of Knowle, with a little church still preserving the "leper slits" which, in ancient days, permitted those afflicted with leprosy to stand without the walls and yet command a view of the high altar and the officiating clergyman. The road leads into the town of Corfe, whose narrow streets, thatched and gabled cottages, and ancient architecture have remained untouched and unaltered for so many years that it seems to be practically the same borough which, "with all its liberties, privileges, regalities, etc.," was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Christopher Hatton. It is a veritable bit of the middle ages, but it was even then gray and hoary with years, as it was coeval with the castle whose magnificent ruins overhang it and are associated with the usual ghastly but fascinating memories of blood, battle, and crime. Edward the Martyr was murdered here in 978 by Elfrida, as he drank his stirrup cup. Peter the Hermit was first immured here and then hanged outside the walls. Twenty-two nobles of Poitou and Anjou were starved to death here by John. Edward II. of England was imprisoned here until it was convenient to murder him elsewhere; and so on down through the centuries, until the castle passed in 1634 into the possession of Sir John Bankes, then Attorney-General for Charles I., was bravely and successfully defended by his wife against the attacks of the Parliamentary forces, but finally through treachery fell into their hands and was de-

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molished, by order of the Commons, in 1646. It and the village of Corfe are still in possession of the Bankes family, who own much land in the surrounding district. The feeling of intimate and close relationship with their acres, the love of their own particular portion of English soil, which the landed gentry here have had so strongly for so many hundreds of years, must be greatly fortified by such a history; and although the passage of these great estates into the hands of the successful merchants and manufacturers of the present day is doubtless an evidence of political progress, it is at a sacrifice of some of the romance and poetry which have always made England most attractive to Americans.

Mention, at least, should be made of Dorchester (the Durnovaria of the Romans, and the "Casterbridge" of Hardy), with the best preserved Roman amphitheatre in England; Abbotsbury, with the picturesque "swannery" of Lord Ilchester, the only place of the sort remaining, where, among winding canals edged with pampas-grass, bordered by brilliant beds of peonies and poppies, and opening into a lagoon of salt water behind Chesil Beach, one thousand swans are reared, fed, and cared for; the beach itself, seventeen miles long, one to two hundred yards wide, and forty to sixty feet high, an enormous mass of pebbles of white spar only paralleled at one other place in the world; Lyme Regis, another ancient town of quaint houses and narrow, winding streets, running up and down hill by the sea edge; Weymouth, the favorite watering-place of George III., with a bay flatteringly said to resemble that of Naples, and really rivalling it sometimes in blueness of sea and sky; Portland, a gloomy peninsula looming up at sea to the south and west, capped by the great convict prison of England; and containing side by side on its eastern cliffs the ruins of a castle so old that its origin is lost in the mists of antiquity—old when it was captured from King Stephen, for the Empress Maud, in 1142; and a modern castle built by Wyatt at the end of the last century for John Penn, Esq., a grandson of William Penn. Seen from the windows of "Pennsylvania Castle," the ruined walls of the keep of "Rufus Castle," pierced by slits for the arrows of the garrison and covered with ivy, figured and described as old three hundred years ago, add much to the foreground; while at the foot of the cliff a ruined church and the gray, irregular, decaying tombstones of a deserted graveyard dating back to Norman times complete a picture which, framed in the blue of the sea and sky, is simply exquisite.

On the way to and from these and other places in this region there are endless bits of landscape and spots of historical association or of quaint local interest, which I have neither space to enumerate nor ability to describe. The equestrian statue of George III., 174 feet high, made a hundred years ago on the side of a hill by cutting away the turf until the underlying chalk was laid bare, and kept in good condition until the present day, is a curious example of both the loyalty and affection of the yokels of that time for a personage who was on the whole about as dull, unattractive, and uninteresting as any who have figured in English history; and of the faithfulness to tradition of their descendants of this day, who still keep the turf cleaned and the grass cut around this extraordinary figure, which can be seen for miles away in every direction, and even from far out at sea. Impressed upon our memories are also the Hardy Monument, said to be the scene of 'Two on a Tower'; a "garden gate" at Poxwell, of the time of Charles I., with overhead chamber, outside stair, and ivy-covered walls, which even the least romantic can imagine to hold the echoes of trysts and meetings and farewells of two and a half centuries; an oak-shaded, flower-bordered lane at Osmington, a perfect gem of English rural landscape; an old church at Chidcock, with gargoyles, buttresses, and squat tower; an inn at Charmouth, which concealed Charles II. after the battle of Worcester; a yew at Winfrith, of such extravagantly aged aspect that it must surely have profited in its youth by the rain that followed Hastings, as it might in its gnarled and twisted and contorted but sturdy old age by that which preceded Waterloo.

One day we follow in the footsteps of Mr. Gay, in his journey from London to Exeter many years ago:

"Thro' Bridport's stony lanes our route we take,
And the proud steep descend to Morcombe's Lake;
On unadulterate wine we here regale,
And strip the lobster of his scarlet mail."

Another day we pass on

"The zwellen downs, wi' chalky tracks
A-clémmen up their zunny backs,
That hide green meads and zedgy brooks
An' clumps o' trees with glossy rooks,
An' hearty vo'k to laugh an' zing,
An' parish churches in a string,
Wi' tow'rs o' merry bells to ring,
An' white roads up athirt the hills."

Another, we sail out ten miles to leave some London papers for the crew of the Shambles Light-ship, anchored off a dangerous portion of the coast of Portland; or, skirting the coast, we stop at the hamlet of Ringstead, where we hold converse with an ancient, sunning himself on the bench before his house, which constitutes just one-third of the village, and from which he has never been far away. He has seen a railway train once or twice during his perilous journeys six or eight miles inland; he has never been to London nor wanted to go. He was only five years old in 1815, when Waterloo was fought, and therefore remembers but dimly having heard of it; but, fortunately, he was fourteen at the time of the great high tide of 1824, and was thus provided with ample food for thought and conversation for the remainder of his eighty-two years. It may be added that he was as contented, as we say at home, "as a clam at high water," and in the matter of intellectual activity the comparison would do the latter no marked injustice.

For those who, like ourselves, are fortunate enough to have good friends familiar with the region, and keenly alive to its natural beauties and historic associations, weeks may be spent in making such daily excursions of a few hours each; nor should it be forgotten that, if seized by the spirit of unrest which characterizes most American travellers, the temporary resident of Lulworth desires a larger field of activity, he has within easy reach—a few hours by steamer, coach, or rail—the wooded recesses of the New Forest, the barren heaths and rugged "Tors" of Dartmoor, the flowers and fertile fields of Devon (which disputes with Dorset the title of the "fairest county of England"), the bleak but picturesque coast of Cornwall, and, but little further removed, the varied scenery of the Isle of Wight, the Channel Islands, and the Scilly Islands, any of which can be reached in less than a day.

I have already spoken of the ease with which we settled ourselves here. I desire to add, in conclusion, that it is not only comfortable and interesting to keep house here, but it is cheap. There are few householders or housekeepers of moderate means who do not, when summer approaches, have to consider not only where they would like to go, but also where they can afford to go. It may interest them to know that such houses as those occupied by our friends and ourselves may be rented for from $15 to $20 per week; that a good London cook may be had for $4 to $5 a week—not a *cordon bleu*, but nevertheless an excellent cook; a "house and parlor maid" (waitress and housemaid) costs $2.50 a week; meat and milk are about the same price as in Philadelphia or New York; vegetables are cheaper; mushrooms, lobsters, fish may be had almost for the asking; wines and malt liquors are, of course, much cheaper; cigars are to the cultivated taste unsmokable. The cost of hiring horses and labor is usually much less than at home. Four trunks and much small baggage are brought six miles over a hilly road for four shillings (one dollar); a pony and cart for the day is supplied at the same price; a pair of horses, a break or wagonette, and a driver cost about a shilling a mile; a fisherman goes out for a half day, sails a boat, keeps the lines in order, baits and unhooks fish for the ladies, etc., and, when asked his fee, wants to know if "a 'alf-crown" (62 cents) is too much! An upright piano is hired for two months and is sent fourteen miles across country and the same distance back again—charge, including cartage, £2 ($10.00). The entire expense of a small family for an average week, including the rent of the cottage, the wages of servants, the food and wines, the hiring of boats, horses, and wagons, the entertainment of one or two guests, may be put down at about £10 ($50). It could doubtless be made much less; but these figures will serve to indicate in a general way the economy of such a method as this of spending the summer. I have tried to show that in addition it is an attractive place, even to those who do not have to consider the details of their expenditure.

The people themselves are hearty, plain, simple-minded, hospitable folk, well deserving the adjective "homely" in its English sense, which is altogether complimentary. They speak a dialect which at its broadest is at first almost unintelligible, but gradually becomes more and more easily understood. Both their personal characteristics and their speech are well and fairly represented by the Dorsetshire poet Barnes (from whom I have already quoted) in the following verse:

"If you in Do'set be a-roamen,
An' ha' business at a farm,
Then woon't ye zee your eälle a-foamen,
Or your cider down to warm?
Woon't ye have brown bread a-put ye,
An' some vinny cheese a cut ye?
Butter?—rolls o't!
Cream?—why, bowls o't!
Woon't ye have, in short, your vill,
A-giëd wi' a right good will?"

As to weather, the maximum temperature in our drawing-room has been 66 degrees F., the minimum, 62 degrees F. We are now having our first wet and stormy day. A strong southeast wind is blowing, and whistles around the cottage, beating the rain in sheets against the diamond panes of the windows and bringing with it the noise of the surf against the foot of the cliffs; but with a cheerful English coal-fire in the grate, a French novel, and an American cigar, a condition of what might be called cosmopolitan comfort is easily attainable. A carved and winged leather chair, big enough for Henry VIII., and possibly contemporaneous with him, procured from a corner of Woolbridge Manor House itself, by the expenditure of a trifling amount of American money (and transported six miles across the hills at an expense of one English shilling) keeps off draughts and conduces to physical inaction. The combination of outside weather and inside comfort must be held responsible for the length of this communication, which

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you may regard as personal or may inflict upon your readers, as you deem best.

J. WILLIAM WHITE.

Correspondence.

A TARIFF ACCOUNTING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your comments on the Homestead affair you have suggested that something akin to a partnership relation exists in the protected industries between employer and employee as regards those benefits conferred upon them jointly by the tariff. Does not the incident, or tragedy, together with Mr. Frick's refusal to disclose to the Congressional Committee what profits the company was making, awaken also the inquiry, What right had Mr. Frick to withhold the information sought?

The protectionist theory now is that tariffs should be levied chiefly, not for revenue, but in the interest of certain favored industries. If we concede that it is sound public policy to turn money by legislation into the pockets of individuals or private corporations, whether the money be withdrawn from the public Treasury or from any lawful custody where it would remain except for such legislation, the question of quantity, of more or less, still remains for adjustment. So with the question of application or distribution of the fund. If a tariff may be too low, it may also be too high. The Government is charged with the duty, which it owes to the whole people, of determining the true rate, neither too low nor too high, at which tariffs shall be imposed. How can it discharge this duty unless it can investigate minutely the conditions and the interests to be affected?

If pensions are to be granted, a method of ascertaining the just claims of each applicant is prescribed along with the grant, and the amount to be awarded is carefully limited. If a Soldiers' Home is to be maintained, the appropriation is made commensurate with an ascertained want, and the Government sees to it that the money reaches the parties intended to be benefited. If the "poor Indian" is to be aided so that his unprotected industry shall not lead him into embarrassment or bankruptcy in competition with his white neighbor, a disbursing officer is provided, and only so much is given as the occasion calls for. The famous Blair Bill to promote the education of our Southern colored population provided for a disbursement that was considered by the friends of that measure adequate to insure the use of the money to be granted for the purposes intended. When valuable franchises were granted to the national banks, their business was subjected to the inspection of an official bank examiner. The expenditures for rivers and harbors, in theory at least, are measured by public necessity and disbursed with great exactness. All Governments, I believe, retain the power of visitation in the case of eleemosynary institutions founded or supported, in whole or in part, by public benefactions.

In nearly all these cases accounts are kept and the records are at all times accessible to the officers of the Government. The protected industries are the wards of the Government (shall I say infant or incompetent wards?) as much as any of the public or charitable interests just enumerated. Why should not the Government possess the power to call for books and papers, place its wards under oath and examine their ledgers? If these wards obstruct the Government in this investigation, they forfeit in the forum of morals all claim to its paternal care. Law ought not to give what morals withholds.

A system may be founded in error and yet be tolerated a long time because the public are used to it or are prejudiced in its favor, or because it may seem inconvenient to change or abolish it. A really beneficent system may be so defenceless against abuses as to speedily render it intolerable. Whether protection be the one or the other of such systems, two conclusions seem to be fairly deducible from the action of the Government in other matters:

First, it ought to be made a misdemeanor for any person to contribute to any political campaign fund any portion of the revenues derived from an industry aided by the Government. This provision should apply to those who receive bounties directly from the Treasury as well as those who are permitted to levy taxes on their fellow-citizens by means of tariffs.

Second, the Government ought to collect the information it needs in order to frame its tariff bills, in its own way and at its own expense. The secret work of the lobby is abhorrent. The work done by our consular service will not be accepted because it is partisan, desultory, and fragmentary; because it is largely done by incompetent and untrained hands and minds. The collection of information should be continuous and thorough. A commissioner should be kept constantly in Europe studying wages, the rate of interest, and the cost of materials and of living. Another expert should be constantly studying the question of ocean and inland transportation and insurance. Another at home should examine into wages, profits, and all the other cognate questions, and he should be clothed with power to compel the production of the necessary evidence. The appointment of these commissioners should be regulated by civil-service rules. Their tenure of office should be either during good behavior or for a long term, and their reports should, from time to time, be published and distributed at the expense of the Government.

L. J. NASH.

MANITOWOC, WIS., September 5, 1892.

[Our correspondent will find in the *Bulletin* of the American Steel and Iron Association for September 7 a defence of thirteen Pittsburg companies or corporations, and these the largest, which withhold, as was alleged in a Washington despatch, information "of vital importance" to Superintendent Porter for the issuance of the statistics of manufactures in Pittsburg. The *Bulletin* says the manufacturers in question take the ground that some of the interrogatories are "unnecessary and inquisitorial."—ED. NATION.]

THE MISLEADING MAINE BALLOT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your criticism of the Maine Ballot Act in the *Nation* of Sepember 1 (No. 1418, p. 157), you make some assertions and draw some conclusions that seem entirely incorrect in fact and partisan in feeling, and go far towards confirming the theory of the many people who assert that the *Nation* is a party organ rather than an independent journal.

You say: "In all laws of the kind, except that of Maine, the blank spaces for the marks are placed before the names of the candidates—that is to say, to the left of them." Now I know not what the true theory may be, but to us here in the semi-cultured Northwest it has seemed that the proper place to indicate the voter's choice is at the right of the candidate's name rather than at the left of the office for which he is running. The only ballot acts which I have at hand are those of Wisconsin and Minnesota. That of Wisconsin (Ch. 379 Laws of 1891) was passed by the Republican Legislature of 1889, and amended by the Democratic Legislature of 1891, in such a way as to introduce the party-group modification; and, so far as one can judge by your description and diagram of the Maine ballot, ours is precisely like it. The Minnesota Act (Ch. 4 Laws of 1891) does not have the party-group feature, but provides for the mark at the right, and is substantially like the laws of Maine and Wisconsin, so far as the form of the ballot is concerned.

I am not a Democrat, and have not that abiding faith in the intelligence and virtue of the Democracy which characterizes many persons—and some otherwise independent newspapers—but I have sufficient confidence in the intelligence of the Democrats of Maine to feel certain that they will not be misled by the ballot described in the *Nation*. It would rather appear that the *Nation* has been deceived into the discovery and exploitation of a political mare's nest.

Very truly yours,

J. E. MCCONNELL.

LA CROSSE, WIS., September 3, 1892.

[Our comments upon the Maine ballot were based upon the diagram of it which we published and which was copied from a Maine newspaper. If our correspondent will read those comments again, he will find that we said that "some of the laws have the marks placed after the names, but the blank spaces are so arranged that a mistake is impossible." The blank spaces on the sample Maine ballot were so arranged that a mistake was easy and natural, and it was towards this aspect of it that our criticism was directed. The Minnesota law, like the Massachusetts law, provides for alphabetical arrangement of the names on the ballot, and puts after each name a blank square in which the mark is to be made, thus rendering any mistake impossible. The Wisconsin ballot has the space for marking placed after the ballot, but, unless we are very much mistaken, the groups of candidates are much more completely separated than was the case in the sample Maine ballot. If they are not, the law is in need of amendment. —ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Maryland the blank spaces for the marks on the official ballots are required by law to be on the right, that is, after the name, as is the case in Maine. The Democratic tickets are here always placed on the extreme left of the official ballot, and get whatever advantage there is from such an arrangement. I do not think that it amounts to much, however, although at first the Maryland Republicans, like the Maine Democrats, feared that it would. There are serious grounds of complaint against the workings of the ballot law in this State, but the requirement that the mark shall be placed after instead of before the name of the

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person voted for has not proved in practice to be one of them. Very respectfully,

JOHN C. ROSE.

BALTIMORE, MD., September 6, 1892.

TWO OF NATURE'S NOBLEMEN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: George William Curtis was of such noble and distinguished character that mistaken statements as to facts connected with his career are deplorable and call for correction. One of our great morning dailies states that Mr. Curtis was a member of the firm of Dix, Edwards & Company, and paid the debts of that insolvent firm; another states that *Putnam's Magazine* failed, and that Mr. Curtis paid the debts of that enterprise. Neither of these statements as to Mr. Curtis is true.

After Dix, Edwards & Company and the Putnams failed, Mr. Curtis and a Mr. Miller established a publishing house under the firm style of Miller & Curtis. Mr. Francis G. Shaw, Curtis's father-in-law, became a special partner therein. Owing to some oversight on the part of the lawyers who drafted the papers, as to a proper publication of the limited copartnership, the creditors of Miller & Curtis informed Mr. Shaw, subsequent to the failure of Miller & Curtis, that they intended to collect all deficits from him, as a general partner. Mr. Shaw made good all such deficits, and Mr. Curtis thereafter reimbursed Mr. Shaw, taking the whole load upon his own shoulders. He accomplished the task after years of arduous labor.

With both parties, Mr. Shaw and Mr. Curtis, it was a case of *noblesse oblige*. Mr. Shaw attempted no legal defence; Mr. Curtis did not entertain the idea of taxing the generosity of his wife's father. Both men were the possessors of minds wholly imbued with absolute honor. That such minds have existed and do exist is the glory of our past and the hope of our future.

CHAMPION BISSELL.

NEW YORK, September 1, 1892.

SHELLEY MEMORIAL SUBSCRIPTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Publicity has been given to details of the celebration, at Horsham, Sussex, England, of the centenary of Percy Bysshe Shelley, August 4, upon which day addresses were made, and a memorial tablet, bearing the poet's name, etc., was placed in the parish church.

The Shelley Committee, headed by Lord Tennyson, includes upon its list the names of George Meredith, W. Morris, Prof. Max Müller, Prof. Dowden, Prof. Jebb, Leslie Stephen, Stopford A. Brooke, Edmund Gosse, William Sharp, Theodore Watts, W. Besant, T. Hardy, Sir F. Leighton, Henry Irving, and other well-known representatives of letters and the arts in Great Britain. It has been decided that the most fitting memorial to the poet will be a "Shelley Library and Museum," to be established at Horsham, near the place of his nativity.

The library will include, in addition to general literature, all such works as may be specially connected with Shelley. In the museum a home will be found for personal relics of the poet.

To provide the needed funds, a call is made for subscriptions, and the readers and lovers of Shelley throughout the English-speaking world are invited to contribute. Any sums which may be sent to us, by check or postal-order, will be duly remitted to the Hon. Secretary, Mr. James Stanley Little of Horsham. Receipts will be promptly given to subscribers, and a public acknowledgment will be made from time to time in the literary and daily journals.

Contributions may be forwarded to either of the undersigned American members of the Committee.—Respectfully yours,

EDMUND C. STEDMAN,
64 Broadway, New York city.
RICHARD WATSON GILDER,
33 East 17th Street, New York city.

Notes.

THE announcement that Dr. Elliott Coues is preparing a new edition of Lewis and Clarke's narrative of their expedition to and beyond the Rocky Mountains, to be published in this city by Francis P. Harper, gives the perfect satisfaction which absolute fitness in the performer for his task always inspires. Dr. Coues has already published an exhaustive bibliography of this famous work. And since we are mentioning his name, we will call attention to an illustrated article of his, "Can Ghosts be Photographed?" in the September number of the *California Illustrated Magazine*. Dr. Coues does not answer this question, but he exposes effectively the humbug of the so-called spirit photographs, and declares: "I have yet to see one which, when I had ascertained all the facts in the case, did not prove to be bogus—a mere sham!" In this matter he explicitly differs from the too credulous Prof. Alfred Russel Wallace.

That a fourth edition of Mr. Henry C. Lea's 'Superstition and Force' should be called for is a gratifying evidence of appreciation by the most thoughtful part of the reading community. It has been laboriously revised by the author, and is now passing through the press. It will be published next month by Lea Brothers & Co. Mr. Lea's 'Formula of the Papal Penitentiary,' which has been unavoidably delayed, will appear soon afterward. In the background of preparation is a 'History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences,' for which a wide vogue may be anticipated.

'Memories of the Professional and Social Life of John E. Owens,' the actor, by his wife, with twenty illustrations, is in the press of John Murphy & Co., Baltimore.

Thomas Whittaker will shortly publish 'Christianity between Sundays,' by the Rev. Geo. Hodges of Pittsburg.

Macmillan & Co. promise a new edition of Andrew Lang's 'The Library,' a book all the more in request because out of print; a few copies will be printed on large paper. In the style of 'Cranford' and the 'Vicar of Wakefield' will be a new edition of 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' illustrated likewise by Hugh Thomson. In November will appear the first of the "Dryburgh Edition" of the Waverley Novels, from the interleaved copy on which Scott made his last corrections, and with notable illustrations.

"The Bookman's Library" is the alluring title of a series of volumes about to emanate from the office of the London *Bookman*. The first will be 'The Poetry of the *Dial*,' arranged under the names of the authors, from a copy marked by Emerson in the possession of Mr. Alexander Ireland. The second will be the Complete Works of Emily Brontë, in which 'Wuthering Heights' will be reprinted from the original edition, as will her poems. The *Bookman* completes its second volume this month, and has all the marks of a sound vitality.

Two more of the ten volumes of which Mr. Reginald Brimley Johnson's dainty edition of 'Jane Austen's Novels' will consist, have been issued, viz., Nos. iii. and iv., 'Pride and Prejudice' (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan). Each has its three vignettes and the prepossessing binding of its predecessors.

Though the yachting season is drawing to a close, we will not omit to record the first issue of 'The Official Register of American Yachting,' compiled by William B. McClellan (Boston: Estes & Lauriat). It assembles in one book the fleet lists of the yacht clubs of America. The yachts are arranged in club-groups, and the usual particulars of dimensions, age, etc., follow the name of each yacht. The book is a convenient shipmate for yachtsmen, is handsomely printed, and but little encumbered with advertisements. The list of private signals is very incomplete, and adds scarcely anything to the usefulness of the book, which has to compete with the older 'American Yacht List,' now in its eighteenth year (New York: Thomas Manning).

Ever larger becomes the bulk of the 'Publishers' Trade-List Annual,' and that just issued from the office of the *Publishers' Weekly* fulfils the twentieth year of this indispensable bound volume of catalogues of books now in print.

The twenty-first volume of "Les Grands Écrivains Français" is M. Réne Millet's 'Rabelais,' with a photogravure from the portrait at Geneva. M. Millet's book is less a biography than a study, less an account of the author's works than an admiring criticism of them; and for English readers, therefore, it is perhaps less likely to be serviceable than was Mr. Walter Besant's book, which was almost the only acceptable volume in Mrs. Oliphant's "Foreign Classics for English Readers." It is announced that the volume on Froissart will be written by Mme. James Darmesteter, formerly Miss A. Mary F. Robinson.

'Le Crime et la Peine,' by Louis Proal (Paris: Félix Alcan), is written as a review and refutation of the theories advanced by the anthropological school of criminalists. The author is a counsellor-of-law in the Court of Appeals at Aix, and his work has been crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences. His point of view is that of the practical lawyer, and his object is to show the falsity and danger of regarding crime as a physiological or social fatality, and of substituting physic and reform for swift and sharp penalties. His experience as a practitioner of law and a judge has convinced him that crime is not an organic infirmity, or, in any proper sense of the term, a pathological phenomenon which physiology and anatomy can explain, but results from "a depravity of the will." The so-called criminal type, which Lombroso has taken so great pains to construct, Proal regards as a fiction, and dismisses all the physical anomalies and abnormities ascribed to it as chimerical. Prof. Lombroso, by the way, is about to publish a work entitled 'Donna Delinquente,' or, Woman as a Criminal, a companion to his 'L'Huomo Delinquente'; and a volume on saints, in which the whole subject of hagiology will be investigated from a psychopathological point of view.

'Bestie Delinquenti' is the subject of a recent work by another Italian, Carlo D'Addosio, published at Naples by Luigi Pierro, with a preface by Ruggero Bonghi. It deals, of course, with the old and hardly extinct superstition of holding brute beasts morally responsible for their injuries to the human species, of formally trying them, and of executing judgment upon them. This is a curious chapter in the history of the human mind, of cleri-

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calism and of jurisprudence, and has been often explored. D'Addosio's work is said to be both learned and light of style.

We have received from Signor Chilovi, the efficient Director of the National Central Library of Florence, a description of the new building for that important institution, whose collections embrace upward of 400,000 printed volumes and 380,000 pamphlets, 17,000 MS. volumes, 950 parchments, and 190,000 pieces of autograph letters, documents, etc., etc. This library receives the copyright deposits of all works issued in Italy. It lends books in the city and out of town. It is open day and evening, but books used in the evening must be ordered in the daytime. The new structure will be lighted by electricity, and will employ the telephone, elevators, and all modern aids to quick communication and delivery, for some of which Signor Chilovi acknowledges his indebtedness to our new National Library at Washington. It will have nearly four miles of shelves in a separate stack-room, in eight stories, averaging about 12 feet high on account of the climate, but dispensing with ladders; an ultimate capacity of 2,000,000 volumes is estimated. The reading-room is about 40 x 70 feet, with the desks and seats in amphitheatrical arrangement—an innovation. The reference library will number 2,000 volumes. A Galileo and a Dante chamber are among the special collections. The exterior will bear the statues of these two great Florentines, together with Machiavelli and Michael Angelo, who represent "tutto lo scibile umano," to quote the descriptive circular. The grand staircase will be adorned with a portrait fresco, "The School of Florence," after the manner of Raphael's "School of Athens."

In the September number of the *Educational Review* there is what may perhaps be accepted as an authoritative statement of the aims of the special Committee of Ten appointed at the Saratoga meeting of the National Educational Association. The Chairman of this Committee is President Eliot, and among the other members are the Presidents of Vassar College and of the Universities of Michigan, Colorado, and Missouri, Dr. William T. Harris, and the principals of several important high schools. The Committee is to consider the means of improving and systematizing the work of the secondary schools, not with a view to any uniformity in the curriculum, but to ascertain the weak points of the present disorganized condition. The attention of the Committee is to be directed to these inquiries: (1) what topics of each subject should be taught in secondary schools, and in what order; (2) what method of presentation is most efficient; (3) how many week-hours per year should be devoted to each subject taken up; (4) what tests of proficiency in every subject can be devised. Twenty-five hundred dollars were appropriated to meet the expenses of the investigation, the importance of which is obvious. In the same number of the *Review* there is a valuable paper by Prof. Hinsdale on the British device known as "Payment by Results"—one of the most unfortunate legacies of the late Robert Lowe.

The Chicago *Dial* makes the interesting announcement in its issue for September 1 that hereafter it will be published semi-monthly instead of monthly, and will take on several new features, without ceasing to be a purely literary journal—a "journal of literary criticism, discussion, and information." Thus, it already offers several articles, a poem, communications, "Chronicle and Comment," etc. One of the articles is upon the Chicago University, and there can be no doubt that the editor of the *Dial* will find himself greatly strengthened by the accession to the city of the scholars whom President Harper is calling about him. The reviews will continue to be both signed and unsigned.

We have received the first number of *L'Amérique Française*, a weekly illustrated paper published in this city under the editorship of Napoléon Thompson, who aims to create for the French of the United States a metropolitan organ, "Français de cœur et Américain de bonne foi." It is so American as to be strongly anti-English, and to accuse President Cleveland's Administration of having been always inspired by the "English idea" "in its most exaggerated Tory acceptation"! Needless to add that Mr. Thompson is an admirer of the grand old Republican party, and will work for it in the familiar mode indicated by his quotation from the Liverpool *Courier* "after it learned that the Cobden Club had succeeded in securing Mr. Cleveland's candidacy." This seems, perhaps, a shade droller in the language of Voltaire than in English.

The seventh number of *Petermann's Mitteilungen* contains an account of very recent explorations in Costa Rica, by Prof. H. Pittier. One of these was made in an Indian pirogue along the southwest coast for the purpose of finding harbors suitable for the development of a coasting trade. In the course of it the writer claims to have discovered many errors in the maps published in Washington in 1887-1889 from the surveys of the United States steamer *Ranger* four years before. He says that they deserve confidence only in their details, as of single harbors and bays, "but that beyond these the maps are often faithful copies of old maps with all their errors." In confirmation of this statement several instances of important errors are given, such as the omission of rivers as well as the insertion of one river at least which does not exist. Among the minor notices is one upon the province of Ferghana in Turkestan. Since the Russian conquest in 1876, it has increased largely in population as well as in the production of cotton, silk, and dried fruits. The editor, referring to the attempts of "The United States Board on Geographic Names" to establish a uniform spelling of these names, objects strongly to the arbitrary changes of foreign names which are officially established, as, for instance, Baireuth instead of Bayreuth. He adds that Germany, England, and France will hardly adopt these new spellings, and hence the prevailing confusion will only be increased by the action of the Board, which should, he hints, confine its efforts to securing the proper spelling of names in the United States.

A description of a journey into the interior of Iceland, by Th. Thoroddsen, is given in the August number. In it reference is made to the oases in the desert of volcanic sand at the foot of Mt. Hecla. These are constantly changing or moving on account of the violent sandstorms which rage there. On the windward side they are encroached upon by the sand, and all vegetation is gradually destroyed, while on the other sides the grasses take root and "in a surprisingly short time barren and unfruitful spots are changed into good pasture." Dr. O. Baumann sends a short account of his recent journey to the Victoria Nyanza, remarkable for the speed with which it was accomplished; he appears to have made some important discoveries, among them of a snow-clad mountain and a large salt lake. Of the latter Dr. Emin Pasha, in a report dated August 9, 1890, had already surmised the existence, from the number of aquatic birds, especially pelicans, in the almost waterless district of Ugogo to the south of the new lake. The object of Dr. Emin's last expedition is at length revealed by his companion, Dr. Stuhlmann. It was first to communicate with the Egyptians who had remained in the Equatorial Province and render them any needed assistance, and then to push through the continent by the Welle River to the Cameroons on the west coast. This was prevented by the want of a proper equipment of men and supplies for crossing the great forest. He denies the truth of the story that Emin left a great store of ivory when he evacuated his province.

According to a recent publication of the Danish Statistical Bureau, the census of Greenland made in 1890 showed a total population in that country of 10,516, of which 309 were Europeans, the remaining 10,207 being natives. During the past decade the increase has been 5 per cent., the greatest growth being in North Greenland. In one of the "colonies," that of Godhavn, the increase has reached 35 per cent. Of the European settlers, by far the largest number are found in the south. As has always been the case, the women greatly outnumber the men. This is especially true of Southern Greenland, owing to the fact that the milder climate allows hunting and fishing from the kayak to be carried on both winter and summer. During each of the last decades the number of accidental deaths in this occupation has averaged 200 in the south to 50 or 60 in the north. With regard to occupations, 1,668 persons are engaged in the whale and seal fisheries, 365 are ordinary fishermen, 33 are netters, 47 are hunters, and 3 cattle-owners, this last industry having been introduced in Southern Greenland during the past year.

The same work contains a number of interesting figures taken from the Icelandic census of November, 1890. In that year the population of the island amounted to 70,927. According to the censuses of 1880, 1860, 1840, and 1801, the population was respectively 72,445, 66,987, 57,094, and 47,240. This first falling off in the population is due, not to increased mortality, for during the last decade the births exceeded the deaths by 4,784, but to emigration, especially from the west coast. Curiously enough, a majority of the emigrants were women. This is also the case with the whole population. Only 25 per cent. of the female Icelanders are married, and only one-third of the whole population—a remarkably small proportion. Another unusual proportion is that of servants, who compose a quarter of the inhabitants—about twice the ordinary number. About two-thirds of the Icelandic people are engaged in agriculture, the next most popular occupation being fishing, and frequently the two are combined. Although there are only 269 foreigners living on the island, their number has trebled since 1880.

The women students at Oxford have thus far not scored such signal triumphs in the examinations as their sister students at the Cambridge colleges. Although the honor examinations have, with two exceptions, theology and medicine, been open to them since 1884, and several have obtained first-class honors in modern history and in science, only two students had until this year attempted the final classical examination. Both were from Somerville Hall, and both were placed in the second class, one in 1890 and one in 1891. It has been reserved for another Somerville student, Miss Penrose, as we lately recorded, to achieve the great distinction of a "first" in the final Classical School. At the same time a Parsee student, Miss Sorabji, has accomplished the still more remarkable task of taking a third-class in the examination for B. C. L., the

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most difficult law examination of the University. Of the twenty-five men with whom this foreigner had to compete, ten failed altogether, two obtained seconds, and not one a first.

The two articles from the *Nation* on "The Cost of a Small Museum" and "The Slater Memorial Museum" at Norwich, Conn., have been reprinted as brief circulars, and will be sent on application to H. W. Kent, Curator of the Museum. They furnish, in compact form, just the information needed by heads of colleges or private individuals who are contemplating the establishment of large or small collections of plaster casts. The statistics of attendance of visitors to the Museum, by the way, continue to exhibit a gratifying degree of public interest in the collections. The Museum is open three days each week, and the average attendance is about 150 persons per week. On Decoration Day there were 428 visitors, on New Year's Day 150, on Labor Day 143.

—A writer in the September *Bookman* makes a shrewd guess at the authorship of the famous *Quarterly* criticism of 'Jane Eyre'—"If we ascribe the book to a woman at all, we have no alternative but to ascribe it to one who has, for sufficient reason, long forfeited the society of her sex." The fact has lately been made public that this comment was an affront to the Brontë family which, in their opinion, could be wiped out by blood alone, and that an uncle of Charlotte's set out for London with the express purpose of killing the reviewer. He was unable, however, to discover a victim for his fury, and, if the *Bookman's* guess is correct, would have been not a little embarrassed had he got access with his deadly weapons to the offender—a woman. Her personality is arrived at in the following way: The *Quarterly* article (December, 1848) did 'Vanity Fair' as well as 'Jane Eyre,' and—as both Becky and Jane were governesses—dealt also with the Report of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution for 1847. To conclude the paper, it was said, after enumerating the many hardships of the governess's lot, "There is something that would compensate for all this, and that is *better pay*." Now, a letter of Sara Coleridge's is printed in her Memoirs, dated March 31, 1849, which says: "Miss Rigby's article on 'Vanity Fair' was brilliant, as all her productions are. But I could not agree to the concluding remark about governesses. How could it benefit that uneasy class to reduce the number of their employers, which, if high salaries were considered in all cases indispensable, must necessarily be the result?" The reference seems beyond question. Miss Rigby (afterwards Lady Eastlake) was an intimate friend of Sara Coleridge's, and if the latter was mistaken in her ascription of the article in question, it is remarkable, as the *Bookman* says, that "the mistake should have been allowed to stand in every edition of her Memoirs."

—New light is thrown, alike on Bengali philology and on Bengali ethnography, by a paper in the July issue of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*. The writer of the paper is Mr. Charles Johnston, of the Bengal Civil Service. It is especially the District of Murshidabad to which he confines his remarks; and his conclusions regarding the origin of its inhabitants and the peculiarities of their language are, for the most part, very unexpected. Side by side, in Murshidabad, are found, we are told, three most distinct species of Bengali—that of the Brahmans and the classes directly under their influence, that of educated Muhammadans, and that of the great mass of the people, "the true Bengali language, the speech of the illiterate millions." In the first, fifty per cent. of the words are, in form, pure Sanskrit; of the second, the same proportion of the words is pure Arabic or Persian; and the third "is an agglutinative language, like the Dravidian tongues." It is on the last, of which philologists as yet know very little, that the writer particularly dwells, entering, as he does, into critical details which can here only be referred to. Passing from the linguistic aspect of Murshidabad, the essayist discourses of its population. And in this he distinguishes ethnic types of three marked varieties, the Indo-Aryan, the Indo-Chinese, and the Dravidian. Of these the most meagrely represented is the Indo-Aryan, the characteristics of which include fine features, an aquiline nose, small and well-formed hands and feet, and "a fair, almost European, complexion." The Indo-Chinese type is exemplified in from five to six hundred thousand persons, and the Dravidian in some two hundred thousand more than that aggregate. Curious facts are adduced for the purpose of showing that the Santalis, inhabiting Central India, who have hitherto been supposed to be Dravidian, are Indo-Chinese; a position, we believe, entirely novel. Brief as is Mr. Johnston's paper, it forcibly illustrates his contention, that, towards arriving at scientific truth, ethnographic research must be combined with philological.

—That generous cultivation of astronomical science in which the French surpass all other governments is largely due to the initiative of the late Admiral Mouchez, who was appointed Director of the Paris Observatory to succeed Leverrier on his death in 1877. While there are many great astronomers among the French, it will be difficult to find among them one capable of filling the place made vacant by the death of Mouchez, at whose initiative and under whose superintendency have been developed many works of the highest scientific significance. Chief among these, of course, is the comprehensive series of photographic maps of the stellar heavens, now in progress at a score of observatories in both hemispheres, and which originated at Paris in a movement started by Mouchez; for it was at his proposal the prominent astronomers of the world assembled in 1887 to discuss the best methods of executing so vast a plan. The end of the present century will barely see the conclusion of this international astronomical campaign. But the debt which French astronomy owes to Mouchez for the establishment of national schools for the practical cultivation of that science is hardly less. It is now seven or eight years since the inception of this project, and the French Governmental observatories, already about a dozen in number, receive their trained observers directly from the graduates. The creation and erection of new observatories, both at home and in the French colonial possessions, received his active support; and new observatories at Tahiti, Tananarivo, and Zaghouan were among the favorite hopes of his later days. The interest taken by Mouchez in the development of that novel and useful instrument known as the equatorial coudé, which vastly facilitates the nightly labors of the astronomer, will long be remembered. It is to be hoped that some progressive patron of astronomy may at an early day provide for the erection of a telescope of this type at an American observatory.

—The session of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres on August 6 was of especial interest. The principal address was made by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, who compared at considerable length the Celtic oath by the sky, the earth, the sea, with the Greek oath in the 'Iliad.' The Celtic oath, which invokes natural objects and not the gods, M. d'Arbois holds to correspond logically to the primitive historic period, when there was no public punishment of private crime and no public enforcement of private contracts. Private vengeance was the law at that epoch, and the life to come was conceived of as being like this. There was no idea of a divine justice that should hereafter repair the wrongs of this world, such as is found in ancient Egypt, or in Rome under the Christian emperors. The Greek oath was identical with the Celtic, and a trace of the same adjuration is found in the Gospels, where swearing by the sky and the earth is forbidden because the sky is God's throne and the earth his footstool. The oath by the gods, according to M. d'Arbois, gives evidence of an intermediate period, when men had not yet come to the notion of a retribution in the life to come, but did believe that the gods would punish those who insulted them. The violation of an oath would be a distinct insult to the gods. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, it is perhaps needless to say, is one of the very first modern Celtists. He is a professor of the Collège de France, and is the author in chief of the great "Cours de Littérature Celtique," five volumes of which have appeared during the last nine years.

— At the same sitting of the Academy, M. Halévy reported the result of his researches in the Museum of Berlin, where he has been of late engaged in the special study of two Semitic inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries before our era. They were discovered in the course of some diggings made by the German Oriental Committee at Zinjirli, at the extreme border of Northern Syria. The writing is so nearly effaced as to be almost unreadable. In spite of the difficulties, however, M. Halévy has been able to make out the *ensemble* of the inscriptions, which were made by two kings of Yadi, both named Panammu, who lived in the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. Panammu II. was a vassal of Tiglathpileser III., King of Assyria, whose exploits are recorded in the Old Testament. The language of the inscriptions is not Aramæan, as was first believed, but a Phœnician dialect closely related to the Hebrew, and only lightly influenced by the Aramæan. This tongue was spoken by the people whom the Assyrians called Hatti, whom we know as Hittites. The current opinion, then, that the Hittites were a non-Semitic people, must, if the conclusions of M. Halévy be followed, be definitively abandoned. The hieroglyphs found in many parts of Asia Minor must be considered of Anatolian, and not of Syrian origin. M. Halévy proceeded to point out the part that the Hittites took in spreading the Phœnician alphabet. It was from the Hittites, and not directly from the Phœnicians, that the Aramæans borrowed the alphabet of twenty-two letters which they carried into the East. An exact knowledge of the Hittite idiom explains the existence in Hebrew of grammatical forms and of words which are found neither in Phœnician nor in Aramæan. These are elements which were introduced into Hebrew at a time when Hittite colonies were in contact with the Israelites. M. Halévy finds in this a striking proof of the accuracy of the passages in Genesis which mention Hittite tribes as existing in various places in Palestine, and especially in Hebron, the dwelling-place of Abraham and the cradle of the Davidic dynasty.

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—Richard Wagner's share in the Saxon Revolution of 1849, which compelled him to live outside of Germany for about twelve years (he wrote most of "Rheingold," "Walküre," "Siegfried," "Tristan," and the "Meistersinger" in Switzerland), has always been subject to dispute, because he himself avoided detailed reference to the matter in correspondence and conversation, and his associates also preserved silence. Mr. Dannreuther, who knew the composer personally, says that "the tale of Wagner's having carried a red flag and fought on the barricades is not corroborated by the 'acts of accusation' preserved in the Saxon Police Records." Richard Pohl, another friend of Wagner, who used to call him "the oldest Wagnerite," writes in his biographic sketch that "Wagner did not, as some have asserted, stand upon the barricades, but he undertook what I may call the 'musical conducting' of the Revolution: he led the signals and the alarm bells. He also organized the detachments coming in from the outside, and by his words encouraged them to the fight." The late Ferdinand Praeger, however, in his 'Wagner as I Knew Him,' tries to make out that Wagner took a much more active rôle in the Revolution than he and his biographers were willing to admit; and he quotes especially the evidence of a man named Hainberger to prove that Wagner did all sorts of disloyal things. This accusation has aroused the ire and polemic ardor of Mr. Ashton Ellis, editor of the London *Meister* (who has made considerable progress in his arduous undertaking of translating all of Wagner's prose works into English). After firing off a few preliminary newspaper articles, Mr. Ellis has gathered together his ammunition in a 72-page pamphlet entitled '1849: A Vindication' (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.). Mr. Ellis shows, in the first place, what justification for revolt there was, adding that "if Englishmen, so long ago as half a century, had been treated half so tyrannously, we should have seen a repetition of the revolutions which drove the Stuarts from their throne." He proceeds to quote a document unearthed by him which makes it more than probable that some of the deeds of which the composer of "Lohengrin" was accused were done by a journeyman baker named Wagner. He beards Count Von Beust in his autobiographic den, and tells him plainly and frankly why he does not believe the report he gives of his interview with Wagner, in which the latter was charged with having set fire to the palace. There are certainly many suspicious circumstances about Von Beust's statements, including the positive misstatement that Wagner had been condemned to death *in contumaciam;* upon which Mr. Ellis comments: "However much Von Beust might have approved of this summary method of dealing with distasteful absentees, even the Saxon authorities did not dare to go so far, at least in the middle of this century, as to condemn a man to death *unheard.*" But it is against Praeger that Mr. Ellis chiefly directs his criticisms, and readers of Praeger's book would do well to follow it up with a glance at Mr. Ellis's pamphlet.

—One bit of testimony has escaped Mr. Ellis's eagle eye. In the *Deutsche Rundschau* for May and June, 1887, there appeared an article by Frau Wille which contained interesting details regarding Wagner's life at Zürich. She relates that one day Minna (the composer's first wife) said in regard to the Revolution: "My husband did not commit any wrong. He only looked from the tower for the detachments coming from the villages to assist the townfolk. He did *not* stand on the barricades, as was said of him; did *not* carry a rifle; and could save himself only by flight when the Prussian troops moved into Dresden." After all, since Wagner himself admits, "I was actively engaged in the revolutionary movement up to its final struggle, and it was a pure accident that I, too, was not taken prisoner," it seems to be immaterial just exactly what he did; and certainly no American will feel inclined to throw a stone at a man who fought for such things as trial by jury, political representation, and freedom of the press.

JULIAN'S GIDDINGS.

The Life of Joshua R. Giddings. By George W. Julian, author of 'Political Recollections.' Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1892.

Now that Mr. Julian has written the Life of his father-in-law, we may congratulate ourselves that he waited till he was seventy-five years old; for it so happens that there is a ripeness in his judgment which he could not have had before, and that he sees the events and persons of his scene in a perspective which assigns them their relative importance. Then, too, it is no little matter that he has had the terrible examples of several biographers of anti-slavery leaders to whom it has seemed impossible to do justice to their heroes without claiming everything for them, and bringing a railing accusation against all who had seemed to share with them the glory of the battle. There is not a particle of these things in Mr. Julian's book. It is written with a double modesty—that proper to the author and that proper to the man of whom he writes. His nearness to Giddings as his son-in-law, and his own part in the scenes which he describes, would have excused occasional lapses into a more subjective manner, but he has chosen to efface himself as far as possible. It is significant of his habitual course that, in speaking of the election of 1852 and of John P. Hale's 156,000 Free-Soil votes for the Presidency, he does not mention the fact that he received as many himself for the second place.

His modesty for Giddings is nowhere more apparent than in his treatment of John Quincy Adams, who for ten years was Giddings's anti-slavery leader and at times his sole companion in the lower house of Congress. To belittle Adams that Giddings might be magnified, would have been the policy of the average biographer; but Mr. Julian keeps so clear of this that, in his enthusiasm for Adams, Giddings is at times forgotten. The two men, alike in their anti-slavery ardor, had much of difference. Adams was already seventy-two when Giddings entered Congress at the age of forty-three. Their culture and experience were as different as their years—Adams's remarkably complete and broad; Giddings's as remarkably narrow and imperfect. But almost from the start Giddings's anti-slavery course was the more thorough and consistent. He was for abolishing slavery in the District, while Adams still refrained; and, in Winthrop's contest for the Speakership, he "voted agin' him" with Palfrey, while Adams's support of him was at once the closing act and anti-climax of his long political career. But Mr. Julian does not make the least attempt to economize these circumstances for the comparative glory of the younger man. They are set down as necessary to a right understanding of the situation in which Mr. Giddings was involved.

Joshua Reed Giddings was born at Athens, Pa., October 6, 1795, but spent his childhood in Canandaigua, N. Y.; and when, in 1805, his father moved to Ashtabula Co., Ohio, there was too much work to be done for the boy to be either idle or at school. His early education was well-nigh "a cipher with the rim removed." But so diligent was he in private study that at the age of nineteen he was thought capable of teaching school, and, by managing to keep ahead of his scholars, he justified the opinion of his friends. At twenty-three, having picked up a little Latin, he began to study law, and three years later entered on the practice of his profession. His six feet and two inches were an adjunct of his legal furnishing that was not to be despised. Schiller's opinion that the immortals never appear alone had a fresh illustration when, in 1833, Benjamin F. Wade became a partner; but when we read that a "lack of self-confidence" kept him to the office-work, while Giddings argued their cases in the courts, we are incredulous of his identity with the "Ben" whom afterward we knew. The firm enjoyed a great success and put their earnings into Western lands, which the financial crash of 1837 made a ruinous investment. Upon broken fortunes broken health soon followed, and life seemed to have already done its best for Giddings when his real life began. In 1838 he was elected to the Twenty-fifth Congress to fill out an unexpired term; and that he held the seat until the expiration of the Thirty-fifth Congress, March, 1859, when we consider the political changes of those twenty years, is eloquent of the impression made by Giddings's character on his constituents.

Before entering on his Congressional career, Mr. Julian gives a brief history of that slavery question which was to engross the bulk of Giddings's energy as time went on. It does not seem possible that it engrossed it to the extent indicated by Mr. Julian. He has written an account of Giddings's part in anti slavery legislation, and if Giddings took any considerable or creditable part in other matters, Mr. Julian has passed it over as of no importance. His account of the slavery question up to 1838 is mainly notable for its difference from several accounts written within the last few years mainly to show that slavery was dying out in the most lovely manner until the abolitionists began their agitation. Certain incidents to the contrary notwithstanding, Mr. Julian asserts "the unmistakable trend of the National Government towards slavery in the earlier and better days of the Republic," and that it "steadily grew stronger," while the early anti-slavery societies became less and less. He makes a singular mistake in naming Whitefield with Wesley as a "thorough-going abolitionist," when in fact he was as much in favor of slavery as Wesley was opposed to it, and did more than any one else to fasten it upon Georgia in the teeth of Oglethorpe's earnest opposition.

It is an interesting fact that it was from Theodore D. Weld, who still enjoys a wonderful old age, that Giddings got his earliest anti-slavery inspiration. He had heard him speak several times in 1837, and had been so greatly moved that he had formed an anti-slavery society. This experience determined his course for the next ten years, during which he was a Whig abolitionist, or at least an abolitionist Whig. Elected by the Whigs, he clung to them with desperate tenacity. How he could support Harrison in 1840 and Clay in 1844 is a truly marvellous thing; but early in his Congressional career he arrived at an interpretation of the Constitution radically different from that of the abolitionists. It was the interpre-

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tation, "Freedom national, slavery sectional," which afterward became the watchword of the Republican party; and no other did so much as he to fix that interpretation in the men by whom the victories of the Republican party were assured—and who had no better luck than he when brought to book by the disunion abolitionists. "The starting-point and fundamental idea of his exposition was that slavery is the concern of the States in which it exists, with which the Federal Government has no Constitutional right to interfere in any way" (p. 134). "The faithful and consistent application of the principle of Federal non-intervention with slavery was the controlling aim of his public life; and his interpretation of it invested it with the interest of a political discovery" (p. 136). The second of these statements does not impress us as very happily expressed. Giddings never wasted a moment in preventing the hostile intervention of the Federal Government with slavery. The Southern slaveocrats and Northern doughfaces could be trusted to take care of that. All his energy of thought and will, all his fertility of resource, went to the prevention of any Federal intervention with slavery favorable to its life and growth. To prevent Federal complicity with slavery was his being's end and aim, and Mr. Julian has given a wonderfully interesting history of the occasions—and they were many—when he detected that complicity in some foul hiding-place and dragged it forth into the light of day. It is a pity we could not have the history of these occasions in Mr. Giddings's words. When he first went to Washington he kept a journal, and the extracts from it are immensely interesting and valuable; but they do not continue long, otherwise they would have been a remarkable pendent to John Quincy Adams's journal of the same period, and a memoir of equal service to the historian.

He took his seat December 3, 1838, and in less than a fortnight he had gauged the temper of the pro-slavery party and prepared a resolution calling for information concerning slavery in the District of Columbia. A letter from W. H. Harrison on the 11th of the same month shows that the present incumbent's management of his own canvass is an inherited audacity, though intellectually and morally the letter is perhaps the smallest ever written by a Presidential candidate. On February 7, 1839, Clay made his famous declaration that "two hundred years of legislation have sanctioned and sanctified negro slaves as property," and on the 21st Giddings made his first anti-slavery speech. From that time forward he was unflinching and persistent in his resistance to pro-slavery aggression, with its revivals of the slave trade, its slavery and slave-auctions at the national capital, its greed for new territory, its suppression of free speech and the right of petition. Into every form of its Protean transformation he followed it with a courage that subjected him to frequent insult and often put his life in jeopardy. It would appear that there was less joy of battle in his heroic service than has been commonly supposed. He did not relish misrepresentation and abuse, nor even the hatred of unworthy men; and more than once he was resolved on retiring from the conflict, but his resolve was overborne.

The Liberty party in 1840 and 1844 had for him no attractions. Somehow he convinced himself that he could safely vote for Harrison and Clay. The latter had for him a powerful fascination. Mr. Julian gives much attention to Giddings's refusal to sustain Winthrop for the Speakership in 1847—not too much, perhaps, considering the long controversy that grew out of it, and how deeply Giddings's feelings were engaged, and what maledictions of the Whigs his action brought upon his head, and their influence in absolving him from the partisan allegiance by which he had been held too long. In 1848 he was an eager adherent of the Free Soil party, and Mr. Julian first met him at the Buffalo Convention which nominated Van Buren and Adams. An interesting feature of these years is Giddings's correspondence with Sumner, who was a private citizen until 1851, but for whose opinions Giddings's regard was as complete as if Sumner had already reached the measure of his fame.

People with short memories will find many surprises in these pages, some of them full of warning and rebuke and instruction in righteousness. We are permitted to believe that Mr. Julian has taken a certain pleasure in arranging some of these, though every one of them is a natural incident of his recital. We seem to read between the lines, "If I did not remain in the Republican party as long as some others, I got there in good season and stood firmly for the highest things when many fell away." Think of Horace Greeley supporting Gen. Scott in 1852, while William Cullen Bryant, and even Robert Rantoul, supported Franklin Pierce! How strange it seems that Charles Sumner could ever have looked to Tom Corwin as the standard-bearer of the Free Soil party! But it is the rage for compromise and reaction that overtook the Republican party between the defeat of Frémont and the election of Lincoln that is the most miserable of these revelations. It was a natural sequence to the support which the Crittenden-Montgomery Amendment—by which Kansas might have been admitted as a slave State—received from every Republican Senator, with one exception, and every Representative; Giddings, albeit with horrible misgivings, going with the rest. But for that lamentable blunder he made large amends in the next years, when the New York *Tribune* was openly for "the disbandment of the Republican party and the formation of a combination against the Democrats composed of Republicans, Douglas Democrats, Know-Nothings, and Whigs" (p. 351), and when there was abundant following of that inglorious lead. The subjection of principles to politics had cost Giddings his Congressional nomination in 1858, and it was a very modest recognition of his great abilities and splendid character that assigned him to the Consul-Generalship of Canada, a position which he held until his death, May 27, 1864.

The judgment of Von Holst is final when he writes, speaking of the principle of Federal non-complicity with slavery, "To Giddings, more than to any other person, belongs the credit of having, with full consciousness, made it the constitutional basis of his entire warfare against the slaveocracy, and of having applied it with a consistency never before attained to all questions to which it was pertinent." Mr. Julian, never excessive in his estimate of Giddings, says, "He was wholly wanting in genius." Yes, unless there be such a thing as genius for character, for righteousness, for devotion to a sacred cause. Every reader of Mr. Julian's book who knows Lowell's early sonnet to the stout-hearted Giddings will expect to find it at the end, and there it is—equally honorable to the poet who wrote and the hero who deserved the praise.

The Barren Ground of Northern Canada. By Warburton Pike. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

On Canada's Frontier. By Julian Ralph. Harper & Bros. 1892.

Mr. Warburton Pike is a traveller of a species unknown until quite recent years. During the first quarter of the century a man who had visited the principal capitals of Europe was accounted a traveller. In the next generation the standard was raised considerably, and some acquaintance with the Indies, East or West, was looked upon as essential. Then came steamers and railroads in every direction, and in the third quarter no one could be regarded as a traveller who had not followed a well-beaten path round the world. But the *fin de siècle* traveller scorns palace cars and twin screws. If he fails in the search for some peak unascended by man, he contents himself with a country known only to Indians or Esquimaux, and he spends weeks of semi-starvation in the society of villanous half-breeds in order to slay a few musk oxen. Rare as these animals are, the cynic may be pardoned if he raises the question whether it is worth while to give up civilization for a couple of years in order to reach them. But the traveller of Mr. Pike's species would not hesitate for an answer. He would say that he has slept under the stars night after night, with the thermometer from 40 degrees to 60 degrees below zero, and has enjoyed a more refreshing and a healthier sleep than in St. James's Street. He would tell you that some of the most marvellously beautiful sights in nature can be seen only by him who travels and camps out in the far north in early spring or late autumn, and that no orator at Washington or Westminster is as interesting as an Indian telling stories over the camp fire of those remote days when the animals could talk as well as men.

We probably all possess, in greater or less degree, the inherited instinct of the chase, though it is commonly warped and blunted by the exigencies of city life; but only the keenest hunters will voluntarily abandon the cooking that is familiar to them, and run the risk of living for days on bits of leather softened with grease, in order to shoot a particular animal. Mr. Pike not only is a keen sportsman, but has the art of telling a story in simple yet graphic language, and his book is decidedly interesting, unadorned though it be by illustration of any kind. As he had no instruments with which to make observations, his long journeys do not add to the sum of geographical knowledge, yet he reached a point on Lake Beechey within sixty miles of the Arctic Ocean, through a country unexplored by white men since the days of Sir John Franklin.

Except for the strong love of nature and of camping out in midwinter with British America for a bedroom, Mr. Ralph has not much in common with Mr. Pike. In his journeyings he had the immense advantage of a companion in the person of Mr. Frederic Remington, whose clever sketches add much to the reader's enjoyment of Mr. Ralph's text. Mr. Pike is a serious person, and takes his pleasures sadly, as becomes a Briton, whereas Mr. Ralph is gifted with a sense of humor, and one can imagine that under provocation he might, like Jeffrey, speak disrespectfully of the equator. Moreover, when he goes into the backwoods he does not propose to live on his moccasins, with or without grease, but keeps within reasonable distance of a railroad and takes a good cook with him. But then Mr. Ralph is not every inch a sportsman—by several inches

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—and it is not borne in upon him that his mission in life is to shoot a musk ox. He is satisfied with such moose and caribou as fate sends in his way, and he keeps his eyes open for many other things in Canada besides sport. He becomes intimate with the Blackfoot tribe of Indians and with the celebrated missionary Father Lacombe, who has spent half a century among them; and he reaches the conclusion that it is the railroad that demoralizes the Indians, and that the degradation of the Canadian Indians has come later than that of our tribes merely because the Canadian Pacific is newer than our transcontinental lines. Before that road was built the Blackfeet lived, fought, and died as their forefathers had done, whereas now they don't fight, but they live and die like dogs. This is rather a melancholy view of the Indian question, but unfortunately there can be little doubt of its truth.

In regard to the climate of Canada, Mr. Ralph makes a discovery which others have made before, but have failed to record in equally vivid language. He says that the reason the people do not suffer from cold is that it is a country "where every one puts on everything he owns—all his stockings at once, all his flannel shirts and drawers, all his coats on top of one another—and, when there is nothing else left, draws over it all a blanket suit, a pair of moccasins, a tuque, and whatever pairs of gloves he happens to be able to find or borrow."

Mr. Ralph gives a most interesting account of the growth of that remarkable association which Charles II. chartered in 1670 as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." The hunters used to say that the letters H. B. C. on the company's flag stood for "Here before Christ," because some of the posts are so remote from civilization and have been established so many years that their origin is lost in obscurity. Yet, far north as they are, there is no good reason for believing, as Mr. Ralph seems to do, that the Company will some day employ its servants in the search for the north pole. No doubt their experience of the climate would be useful in such an expedition, but the whole policy of the Company is becoming more commercial and less adventurous as the years go by. The factors in charge of the different posts are much more interested in furs than in scientific investigations, and their aim is to make money for the Company and to modify as far as possible the hardships of their own tedious existence. A good instance of this is the case of a factor stationed far up on the eastern side of Hudson's Bay who makes a gallant effort to maintain the habits of London life in that remote region. He has a complete set of the London *Times* sent him by the single mail that reaches his post in the course of a year, and each morning he reads the paper of that day in the preceding year!

Mr. Ralph is full of enthusiasm about British Columbia, which he calls the El Dorado of Canada. He expatiates on its enormous mineral wealth, the development of which is as yet in its infancy, on its magnificent trees, on its stupendous mountains, and on its rivers crowded with salmon. The story of the stage-coach which was upset by the fish banking themselves against it when it was crossing a ford, may possibly be an exaggeration, but photographs have been taken showing the fish going up the river like a tidal wave which are quite as wonderful and yet true. Of all these things and of many more, which we have no space to refer to, Mr. Ralph writes instructively and in a pleasant style. Many of his chapters have already appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, and they are well worthy of reproduction in their present permanent form.

Industrial Freedom: A Study in Politics. By B. R. Wise. Cassell Publishing Co. 1892.

THE author of this book is a native of Australia, and has been, he tells us, for seven years engaged by the side of Sir Henry Parkes in the forefront of an active political controversy with the protectionists of New South Wales. In this way he claims, and we think justly, to have gained an exceptional familiarity with the modes of thought and expression that win favor for protection among voters. This special knowledge he has used to frame a complete and scientific statement of the case for free trade, from the point of view of one who is addressing himself to the voters of a democratic country. While a considerable part, and by no means the least interesting part, of the work is devoted to a comparison of the results of free trade in New South Wales with the results of protection in Victoria, the residue contains a lucid and thorough examination of the claims and merits of the rival policies, which is as instructive reading for the voters of France or of the United States as for those of Australia.

It is contended by the author, we incline to think correctly, that free-traders have made a mistake in directing their arguments principally to the effect of their policy upon the production of wealth, instead of to the question of its effect on wages. When we consider that the Democratic party, in framing its platform for this critical year, came near committing the extraordinary blunder of conceding that a protective tariff could raise the wages of American laborers, it certainly cannot be denied that our education upon this subject is incomplete. The attention given by Mr. Wise, however, to this aspect of the question is due to the fact that he was at one time associated with the late Arnold Toynbee, and is affected with his enthusiasm in the cause of improving the condition of the poor. Like most of his school, he is inclined toward socialism and repudiates the *laisser-faire* doctrine; but he demonstrates that protection fails to satisfy the conditions of legitimate State action. His argument is, therefore, of peculiar importance for those who are misled by the claim that protective tariffs improve the condition of the laboring classes. This class includes in this country almost all protectionists who are not pecuniarily interested in preventing foreign competition; and such of them as are open to conviction will do well to study Mr. Wise's elaborate exposure of a particularly impudent fallacy.

We cannot undertake to analyze the argument contained in this book, which is of course in the main familiar to students of economics, further than to say that much is made of the distinction between the economic and the political aspect of the question. As Mr. Wise patiently shows, this distinction is almost invariably ignored by protectionist writers, who thus constantly shift their ground according to the exigencies of discussion. Another feature of value is the historical résumé of national policies, which brings out clearly the difference between the old and new forms of protection and exposes the exaggeration of the protectionist revival. In this connection the motives and expectations of the early free-trade leaders in England, which are now so often misrepresented, receive a correct statement. The recent revival of protection in Europe is explained as due to the growth of "militarism" consequent upon the development of national feeling—a view which is very ably presented. As we have already said, the repudiation of free trade by the British colonies under the lead of Victoria is explained with much interesting detail.

We cannot resist citing, as illustrating the curious manner in which economic disputants have shifted their positions, a passage taken by Mr. Wise from one of Mr. Webster's speeches. He said, in discussing the duty upon iron—and it may be well to mention that prior to 1816 there was no protection for pig-iron, although our iron products in 1810 were valued at $70,000,000—that it was unwise to attempt to force our labor to produce what was produced more cheaply elsewhere. He continued:

"We have been asked . . . in a tone of some pathos, whether we will allow to the serfs of Russia and Sweden the benefit of making our iron for us. Let me inform the gentleman that those same serfs do not earn more than seven cents a day. . . And let me ask the gentleman further, whether we have any labor in this country that cannot be better employed than in a business which does not yield the laborer more than seven cents a day? . . . The true reason why it is not our policy to compel our citizens to manufacture our own iron is, that they are far better employed. It is an unproductive business, and they are not poor enough to be compelled to follow it. If we had more of poverty, more of misery, and something of servitude; if we had an ignorant, idle, starving population, we might set up for iron-makers against the world. . . . Multitudes of persons are willing to labor in the production of this article for us at the rate of seven cents a day, while we have no labor which will not command, upon the average, at least five or six times that amount. The question is, then, shall we buy this article of these manufacturers and suffer our own labor to earn its greater reward; or shall we employ our own labor in a similar manufacture, and make up to it by a tax on consumers the loss which it must necessarily sustain?"

This quotation, which suggests that our modern tariff-reformers have an unused arsenal in the debates of their predecessors, is a sample of the interesting material that Mr. Wise has collected and arranged. His book is prefaced with a good analysis, but we are sorry to say that it lacks an index, which is, in view of its character and aim, a most serious blemish.

The Odyssey of Homer. Edited by Arthur Platt. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.

MR. ARTHUR PLATT, who has been working for a number of years at Homer, and who is well known to all who follow the course of the English periodicals that are concerned with classical philology, is responsible for a new edition of the 'Odyssey,' such as might have been expected from the notice of Van Leeuwen and Da Costa which he wrote some years ago in the *Classical Review* (ii., p. 124). This 'Odyssey' is a part of "The Cambridge Homer," and in this Cambridge Homer a banner is set up which is suspiciously like a battle-flag. "The principle on which this edition is made," says Mr. Platt, "is that of going back, as far is is reasonably possible, to the original language of Homer." To be sure, the device is not strange to those who are acquainted with the drift of Homeric study, and there is a qualification in the heart of it that detracts from the boldness. In fact, Mr. Platt has to admit that his aim is ideal, and the motto he has chosen from Epictetus is interpreted to mean that, if his text cannot be Homer, it shall be as like him as he can make it. With this end in view, Mr.

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Platt shows a certain irritation at Dr. Leaf's objection that, "however many corrections we make, we cannot be sure that we have got all, and therefore it is better to print none of them." "This," he says, "is equivalent to saying that no bread is better than half the loaf," and it is clear that Mr. Platt would have no sympathy with those despondent scholars who look dolefully at the slow progress of the Spelling Reform Association.

He evidently expects to encounter persecution at the hands of English scholars who have a strong "prejudice against laying hands on the sacred text," and he is prepared to meet it. He is ready to be offered up for the holy cause of the digamma and for the dactylic glory of the resolved diphthong, and has put on his armor to do battle in the train of Wackernagel against the hoary iniquity of the contraction and distraction of vowels. His attitude is a trifle too heroic. Many of the points are not novel, many of the changes he has made are recommended as theoretically correct in our school-books, and whatever English scholars may do, American scholars (who are almost always men of open mind) will receive with sympathy Mr. Platt's attempts to translate theory into practice. Some of the resolutions which he notes are found in our recent texts. Ἀτρεΐδης has been familiar since Bekker's day. Few would be shocked at αἰδιόιος and κόιλος. It is possible, however, that some might boggle at ἀρένυια for ἄρνυια, and prefer their Homeric breakfast under the form of ἄριστον instead of the jigging ἀέριστον; and here and there a Philistine may be heard to say that, if one is going to give up the old tradition and elide -οιο, why is not the elision more systematically applied?

One interesting feature of the edition is the publication for the first time of a number of MS. emendations by Bentley; and, as if that were not a compelling charm, the volume is so attractive in appearance that old-fashioned scholars and new-fashioned alike must have been tempted to slip it into the satchel for the holidays.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anson, Sir W. R. The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part I. Parliament. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Armstrong, E. The French Wars of Religion; their Political Aspects. London: Percival & Co.
Bowne, Prof. B. P. The Principles of Ethics. Harpers. $1.75.
Calmire. 2d ed. revised. Macmillan. $1.50.
Church, Prof. A. J. Pictures ffom Roman Life and Story. Appletons.
Collins, Mabel. Suggestion. Lovell, Gesterfeld & Co. $1.25.
Colton's Map of the City of Brooklyn. G. W. & C. B. Colton & Co.
Cook, A. M. Macmillan's Shorter Latin Course. American edition. Macmillan. 40 cents.
Cook, Prof. A. S. The Bible and English Prose Style. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 55 cents.
Cornwallis, Kinahan. The Song of America and Columbus. *Daily Investigator*. $1.
Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Leben des General-Feldmarschalls Kriegsministers Grafen von Roon. 2 vols. Breslau: Eduard Trewendt; New York: Westermann.
Dobbin, L., and Walker, J. Chemical Theory for Beginners. Macmillan. 70 cents.
Dumas, A. The Three Guardsmen. M. J. Ivers & Co. 25 cents.
Stephens, H. Morse. The Principal Speeches of the Statesmen and Orators of the French Revolution. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $5.50.
Stevens's Facsimiles of MSS. in European Archives relating to America. Vol. XIV. London: B. F. Stevens.
Stoddard, C. W. South-Sea Idyls. New ed. Scribners. $1.50.
Stuart, J. A. The Literary Shrines of Yorkshire. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.50.
Thayer, Prof. J. B. Select Cases on Evidence as the Common Law. Cambridge, Mass.: Charles W. Sever.
Welch, W., and Duffield, C. G. Cæsar's Helvetian War. Macmillan. 40 cents.
Wendt, E. C. A Treatise on Asiatic Cholera. William Wood & Co. $3.
Whiton, Rev. J. M. Gloria Patri; or, Our Talks about the Trinity. Thomas Whittaker. $1.
Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Woman. London: W. Scott; New York: A. Lovell & Co. 50 cents.
Wright, W. A. The Works of William Shakspere. Vol. VII. Macmillan. $3.
Yonge, Charlotte M. The Cross Roads. T. Whittaker. $1.25.

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[Continued from page iii.]

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